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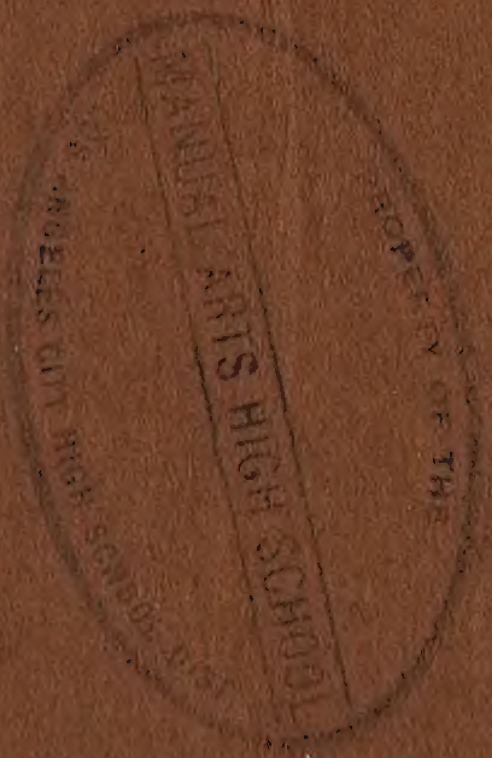

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

OF

CÆSAR, BRUTUS, AND ANTONY

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PLUTARCH

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

OF

CÆSAR, BRUTUS, AND ANTONY

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION, SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS, AND NOTES

BY

MARTHA BRIER, B.L.

TEACHER OF ENGLISH IN THE POLYTECHNIC HIGH SCHOOL, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

"Nothing can be more interesting, we think, than to follow Shakespeare with Plutarch in hand."

—KNIGHT.

New York

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PREFACE

This edition of the lives of Cæsar, Brutus, and Antony, from North's translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, has been prepared as a companion to Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*. Texts of the play intended for school use often give, among the notes, copious quotations from Plutarch; but these quotations, from the very fact that they are quotations, and that they are chosen from those parts of the *Lives* that Shakespeare followed most closely, give but an imperfect idea of Shakespeare's dramatic genius. The student is apt to feel that Shakespeare found a play ready made in the pages of Plutarch; that the dramatist had simply to versify the text of the biographer. It is only by reading the *Lives* as wholes that one is able to appreciate the constructive work of Shakespeare and his transfiguring imagination. Not only is the reading of the *Lives* valuable as showing Shakespeare's use of Plutarch, but so good an example of Elizabethan prose frequently illuminates the text of Shakespeare; and it helps to familiarize the student with a diction and vocabulary that must become natural to him if he is to enjoy Shakespeare fully.

The present work is based on Professor Skeat's *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, and the text is, therefore, that of the edition of 1612.

Professor Skeat's reasons for believing that the edition of 1612 may be the very one used by Shakespeare are interestingly set forth in his preface.

In preparing the notes, an endeavor has been made to make the book useful to students of Latin and of history, as well as to students of Shakespeare. Biographical and geographical have been made full in consideration of the fact that the average high school has but one classical dictionary, so that a number of pupils cannot conveniently prepare the same lesson by its use. The names explained are such as the pupil is likely to meet again in his future reading and study. Places easily found on the small maps in school histories have been omitted, or the pupil is simply directed to a particular map. Places found only on large maps have been carefully located.

Textual notes once given have not been repeated. The note on a difficult word can always be found by means of the index. Explanations of words that the context and the student's common sense can supply have been omitted.

The suggestive questions are not intended to be exhaustive. They merely indicate the direction of one teacher's work.

MARTHA BRIER.

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INTRODUCTION

PLUTARCH

PLUTARCH (*Plutarchos*) was born in the small town of Chæronea in Bœotia. The precise dates of his birth and death are unknown, but it is known that he lived under the Emperors from Nero to Trajan, so that the period from 50–100 A.D. probably includes the best years of his life. He seems to have spent the greater part of his life in the town of his birth, but he lectured and studied for some years in Rome.

Plutarch is celebrated mainly for his forty-six *Parallel Lives*, which he is thought to have written on his return to Chæronea after the sojourn in Rome. He wrote also a collection of essays, generally known under the title *Opera Moralia*. These essays, more than sixty in number, treat philosophically a great variety of subjects. They are little known and rarely read. Quotations in the essays from Greek writers whose works are now lost are highly valued.

The *Parallel Lives* are further considered in the article next following.

PLUTARCH'S GREAT BOOK

Professor Karl Otfried Müller says in his *History of Greek Literature*: —

"In spite of all exceptions on the score of inaccuracy, want of information, or prejudice, Plutarch's lives must remain one of the most valuable relics of Greek literature, not only because

they stand in the place of many volumes of lost history, b
also because they are written with a graphic and dramat
vivacity, such as we find in few biographies, ancient or moder
because they are replete with reflections which, if not profoun
are always moderate and sensible ; and because the author's ai
throughout is to enforce the highest standard of morality of whi
a heathen was capable. As one of his most enthusiastic a
mirers has said, 'He stands before us as the legate, the amba
sador, and the orator on behalf of those institutions whereby t
old-time men were rendered wise and virtuous.'"

Plutarch's plan in writing the forty-six *Parallel Lives*, as
called them, seems to have been the publication, in successiv
books, of biographies in pairs, a Greek and a Roman bei
selected as the subject of each pair. He generally paired tho
whose careers had a certain resemblance. Most of the pairs
lives are followed by sequels which give details of the compa
son between the two men. Modern critics consider these seque
to be by another hand than Plutarch's. It is thought th
Plutarch had no intention of bringing out exact resemblanc
between his subjects ; that his idea was rather the patriotic o
of presenting a great Greek side by side with a great Roma
whose life took the same general course, thus showing that ea
race had its great men, and that the Greeks were in no sen
inferior.

The lives are works of much learning and research, and mu
have taken years in their composition. Plutarch had access
a great store of books which he consulted diligently. In t
life of Lycurgus, for instance, he cities no less than twen
authorities. He is inaccurate in some points, and shows le
research in the lives of the Romans than in those of the Greek
He admires and delights to show the virtues of the Doria
Greeks, and is not always fair to the Ionians.

The lives have often been translated into English. Th
three lives given in this book are from the translation mad

by Sir Thomas North. North did not translate from the original Greek, but from a French version made by Jacques Amyot, bishop of Auxerre, who is said to have followed a Latin text. But in spite of having passed through three languages, this text of North's is more valuable to the student of Shakespeare than any of the later and more accurate versions, because it is the translation used by Shakespeare, and because it is an admirable example of the prose of his time.

North's version was first published in 1579. Frequent reprints appeared, the last in 1676. In 1683 a new translation, called Dryden's, appeared and apparently supplanted North's. The so-called Dryden edition has been edited in our own time by Mr. Arthur Hugh Clough. Another well-known version is that of John and William Langhorne, which appeared in 1770.

SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF PLUTARCH

The reading of Plutarch in connection with those plays of Shakespeare founded on the lives is of great interest and importance to the student. Such reading, if pursued thoughtfully, gives us a glimpse of Shakespeare's methods of work. We find in Plutarch a great mass of material. In Shakespeare we find a selection from that material, arranged in accordance with Shakespeare's ideas of dramatic fitness and expedience. He who studies with care this selection and arrangement of material, asking himself continually why this incident was chosen and that rejected, why such and such incidents were changed in order of occurrence, or in the time they occupied, will gain ideas of the requirements of dramatic art which must be valuable aids to his appreciation of Shakespeare, and to his critical power. At the same time he will feel that he has entered into closer communication than before with the greatest mind in our literature.

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR

At what time Sylla was made lord of all,° he would have had Cæsar put away his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna dictator: but when he saw he could neither with any promise nor threat bring him to it, he took her jointure away from him. The cause of Cæsar's ill will unto Sylla was by means of marriage: for Marius the elder married his° father's own sister, by whom he had Marius the younger, whereby Cæsar and he were cousin-germans. Sylla being troubled in weighty matters, putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be conqueror, he made no reckoning of Cæsar: and he was not contented to be hidden in safety, but came and made suit unto the people for the priesthoodship that was void, when he had scant any hair on his face. Howbeit he was repulsed by Sylla's means, that secretly was against him. Who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Sylla told them again, that they did not consider that there were many Marians in that young boy. Cæsar understanding that, stole out of Rome, and hid himself a long time in the country of the Sabines,° wandering still from place to place. But one day being carried from house to house, he fell into the hands of Sylla's soldiers, who searched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. Cæsar bribed the captain, whose name was Cornelius, with two talents which he gave him.

Cæsar joined with Cinna and Marius.

After he had escaped them thus, he went unto the seaside, and took ship, and sailed into Bithynia° to go unto king Nicomedes. When he had been with him awhile, he took sea again, and was taken by pirates about the ile of Pharmacusa: for those pirates kept all upon the sea coast, with a great fleet of ships and boats. They asking him at the first twenty talents for his ransom, Cæsar laughed them to scorn, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, and of himself promised them fifty talents. Then he sent his men up and down to get him this money, so that he was left in manner alone among these thieves of the Cilicians° (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his friends, and two of his slaves only: and yet he made so little reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleep, he sent unto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he thirty-eight days among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited upon by them as a prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himself in any sport or pastime they would go to. And otherwhile also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them: and if any of them seemed as though they had not understood him, or passed° not for them, he called them blockheads and brute beasts; and laughing, threatened them that he would hang them up. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth. So when his ransom was come from the city of Miletum,° they being paid their money, and he again set at liberty, he then presently° armed and manned certain ships out of the haven of Miletum, to follow those thieves, whom he found yet riding at anker in the same iland. So he took the most of them, and had the spoil of their goods; but for° their bodies, he brought them into the city of Pergamus° and there committed them to prison, whilst he himself went

Cæsar took sea and went unto Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.

Cæsar taken of pirates.

to speak with Junius, who had the government of Asia, as unto whom the execution of these pirates did belong, for that he was Prætor[a] of that country. But this Prætor, having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good store of it, answered that he would consider of these prisoners at better leisure. Cæsar, leaving Junius there, returned again unto Pergamus, and there hung up all these thieves openly upon a cross, as he had oftentimes promised them in the ile he would do, when they thought he did but jest.

Junius Prætor of Asia.

Afterwards when Sylla's power began to decay, Cæsar's friends wrote unto him, to pray him to come home again. But he sailed first unto Rhodes,[b] to study there a time under Apollonius[c] the son of Molon, whose scholar also Cicero was, for he was a very honest man and an excellent good rhetorician. It is reported, that Cæsar had an excellent natural gift to speak well before the people; and besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doubtless he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gave place to the first, because he would be the first and chiefest man of war and authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speak well, which his nature could have performed in him, because he was given rather to follow wars and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be lord of all Rome. And therefore in a book he wrote against that which Cicero[c] made in the praise of Cato,[c] he prayeth the readers not to compare the style of a soldier with the eloquence of an excellent orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned again unto Rome, he accused Dolabella[c] for his ill behaviour in the government of his provinces, and he had divers cities of Greece that gave in evidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Cæsar, to requite the good will of the Greeians which they had shewed him in his accusation of

Cæsar's eloquence.

Dolabella, took their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Prætor of Macedon: and followed it so hard against him in their behalf, that Antonius was driven to appeal before the tribunes at Rome, alleging, to colour his appeal withal, that he could have no justice in Greece against the Grecians. Now Cæsar immediately wan° many men's good wills at Rome, through his eloquence in pleading of their causes, and the people loved him marvellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speak to every man, and to use them gently, being more ceremonious therein than was looked for in one of his years. Furthermore, he ever kept a good board, and fared well at his table, and was very liberal besides: the which indeed did advance him forward, and brought him in estimation with the people. His enemies, judging that this favour of the common people would soon quail, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expense, suffered him to run on, till by little and little he was grown to be of great strength and power. But in fine, when they had thus given him the bridle to grow to this greatness, and that they could not then pull him back, though indeed in sight° it would turn one day to the destruction of the whole state and commonwealth of Rome: too late they found, that there is not so little a beginning of any thing, but continuance of time will soon make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatness.

Cæsar loved hospitality.

Cæsar a follower of the people.

Thereupon Cicero, like a wise shipmaster that feareth the calmness of the sea, was the first man that, mistrusting his manner of dealing in the commonwealth, found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloaked under the habit of outward courtesy and familiarity. "And yet," said he, "when I consider how finely he combeth his fair bush of hair, and how smooth it lieth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger only, my mind

Cicero's judgment of Cæsar.

gives me then, that such a kind of man should not have so wicked a thought in his head, as to overthrow the state of the commonwealth." But this was long time after that. The first shew and proof of the love and goodwill which the people did bear unto Cæsar, was when he sued to be tribune of the soldiers (to wit, colonel of a thousand footmen) standing against Caius Pompilius, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more manifest proof than the first, was at the death of his Aunt Julia, the wife of Marius° the elder. For being her nephew, he made a solemn oration in the market-place in commendation of her, and at her burial did boldly venture to shew forth the images of Marius: the which was the first time that they were seen after Sylla's victory, because that Marius and all his confederates had been proclaimed traitors and enemies to the commonwealth. For when there were some that cried out upon Cæsar for doing of it, the people on the other side kept astir, and rejoiced at it, clapping of their hands; and thanked him, for that he had brought, as it were out of hell, the remembrance of Marius, honour again into Rome, which had so long time been obscured and buried. And where° it had been an ancient custom of long time, that the Romans used to make funeral orations in praise of old ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young women: Cæsar was the first that praised his own wife with funeral oration when she was dead, the which also did increase the people's goodwills the more, seeing him of so kind and gentle nature. After the burial of his wife, he was made treasurer under Antistius Vetus prætor, whom he honoured ever after: so that when himself came to be prætor, he made his son to

The love of the people in Rome unto Cæsar.

Cæsar chosen Tribunus militum.

Cæsar made the funeral oration, at the death of his aunt Julia.

Cæsar the first that praised his wife in funeral oration.

Cæsar made Quæstor.

be chosen treasurer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his third wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first wife, Cornelia, which was married unto Pompey the Great.

Pompeia Cæsar's third wife.

Now for that he was very liberal in expenses, buying (as some thought) but a vain and short glory of the favour of the people, (where indeed he bought good cheap the greatest things that could be :) some say, that before he bare any office in the commonwealth, he was grown in debt, to the sum of thirteen hundred talents. Furthermore, because he was made overseer of the work for the highway called Appius' way, he disbursed a great sum of his own money towards the charges of the same. And on the other side, when he was made Ædilis,° for that he did shew the people the pastime of three hundred and twenty couple of sword-players, and did besides exceed all other in sumptuousness in the sports and common feasts, which he made to delight them withal, and did as it were drown all the stately shews of others in the like, that had gone before him, he so pleased the people and wan their love therewith, that they devised daily to give him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in Rome, to wit, the faction of Sylla, which was very strong and of great power ; and the other of Marius, which then was under foot, and durst not shew itself. But Cæsar, because he would renew it again, even at that time when, he being Ædilis, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest ruff,° he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that carried triumphs ; and those he set up one night within the capitol. The next morning, when every man saw the glistering of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions that they were the victories which Marius had won upon the Cimbres,° every one marvelled much at the boldness of him that durst set them up there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ran straight through all the city,

Cæsar's prodigality.

and every man came thither to see them. Then some cried out upon Cæsar, and said, it was a tyranny which he meant to set up, by renewing of such honours as before had been trodden under foot and forgotten by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a bait to gauge the people's good wills, which he had set out in the stately shews of his common plays, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide such parts to be played, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of Marius' faction on the other side, encouraging one another, shewed themselves straight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitol ring again with their cries and clapping of hands: insomuch as the tears ran down many of their cheeks, for very joy, when the saw the images of Marius, and they extolled Cæsar to the skies, judging him the worthiest man of all the kinred° of Marius. The Senate being assembled thereupon, Catulus Luctatius,° one of the greatest authority at that time in Rome, rose, and vehemently inveighed against Cæsar, and spake that then which ever since hath been noted much: that Cæsar did not now covertly go to work, but by plain force sought to alter the state of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, Cæsar at that time answered him so, that the Senate was satisfied. Thereupon they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope than before, and persuaded him, that hardily he should give place to no man, and that through the goodwill of the people he should be better than all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the city.

Cæsar accused to make a rebellion in the state.

At that time the chief bishop° Metellus died, and two of the notablest men of the city, and of the greatest authority (Isauricus° and Catulus), contended for his room: Cæsar, notwithstanding their contention, would give neither of them both place, but presented himself to the people, and made suit for it as they did. The suit being equal betwixt either of them, Catulus, because he was a

The death of Metellus chief Bishop of Rome.

man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the uncertainty of the election, sent unto Cæsar a good sum of money, to make him leave off his suit. But Cæsar sent him word again, that he would lend a greater sum than that, to maintain the suit against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the door of his house, Cæsar, weeping, kissed her, and said: "Mother, this day thou shalt see thy son chief Bishop of Rome, or banished from Rome." In fine, when the voices of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated, Cæsar wan the victory, and made the Senate and noblemen all afraid of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then Catulus and Piso fell flatly out with Cicero, and condemned him for that he did not bewray° Cæsar, when he knew that he was of conspiracy with Catiline,° and had opportunity to have done it.

Cæsar made chief Bishop of Rome.

Cæsar suspected to be confederate with Catiline in his conspiracy.

For when Catiline was bent and determined, not only to overthrow the state of the commonwealth, but utterly to destroy the Empire of Rome, he escaped out of the hands of justice for lack of sufficient proof, before his full treason and determination was known. Notwithstanding, he left Lentulus and Cethegus° in the city, companions of his conspiracy: unto whom, whether Cæsar did give any secret help or comfort, it is not well known. Yet this is manifest, that when they were convinced° in open Senate, Cicero being at that time Consul, asking every man's opinion in the Senate what punishment they should have, and every one of them, till it came to Cæsar, gave sentence they should die: Cæsar then rising up to speak, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and said, that it was neither lawful, nor yet their custom did bear it, to put men of such nobility to death (but in an extremity) without lawful inditement and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in prison in some city of

Cæsar went about to deliver the conspirators.

Italy, where Cicero thought best, until that Catiline were overthrown, the Senate then might at their pleasure quickly take such order therein, as might appear best unto their wisdoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withal was uttered with such a passing° good grace and eloquence, that not only they which were to speak after him did approve it: but such also as had spoken to the contrary before, revoked their opinion, and stuck to his, until it came to Cato and Catulus to speak. They both did sharply inveigh against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Cæsar suspected to be of the conspiracy, and stoutly spake against him, insomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. Cæsar coming out of the Senate, a company of young men which guarded Cicero for the safety of his person, did set upon him with their swords drawn. But some say, that Curio° covered Cæsar with his gown, and took him out of their hands. And Cicero self, when the young men looked upon him, beckoned with his head that they should not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shameful and wicked a part. But if that were true, I marvel why Cicero did not put it into his book he wrote of his consulship. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he took not the opportunity offered him against Cæsar, only for overmuch fear of the people, that loved him very dearly. For shortly after, when Cæsar went into the Senate, to clear himself of certain presumptions and false accusations objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer than they were wont: the people came about the council house, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. Cato then, fearing the insurrection of the poor needy persons, which were they that put all their hope in Cæsar, and did also move the people to stir, did persuade the Senate to make a frank° distribution of corn unto them, for a month. This distribution did put the

Cato's oration against Cæsar.

commonwealth to a new charge of five hundred and fifty myriads.° This counsel quenched a present great fear, and did in happy time scatter and disperse abroad the best part of Cæsar's force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he never sought any alteration in the commonwealth; but contrarily he himself had a great misfortune fell on his house, which was this.

There was a young nobleman of the order of the Patricians, called Publius Clodius, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence; but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person as any was else in Rome. He became in love with Pompeia Cæsar's wife, who misliked not withal: notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to, and Aurelia (Cæsar's mother) an honest gentlewoman, had such an eye of her, that these two lovers could not meet as they would, without great peril and difficulty. The Romans do use to honour a goddess which they called the good goddess, as the Grecians have her whom they call Gynæcia, to wit, the goddess of women. Her, the Phrygians° do claim to be peculiar unto them, saying: that she is king Midas'° mother. Howbeit the Romans hold opinion, that it is a nymph of the woods married unto the god Faunus. The Grecians, they say also, that she was one of the mothers of the god Bacchus, whom they dare not name. And for proof hereof, on her feast-day, the women make certain tabernacles of vine-twigs, and leaves of vine branches; and also they make, as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddess, and do set it by her: besides, it is not lawful for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no, not within the house itself where they are made. Furthermore they say, that the women in these sacrifices do many things amongst themselves, much like unto the ceremonies of Orpheus. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband (whether he were Prætor or Consul)

The love of P. Clodius unto Pompeia, Cæsar's wife.

The good goddess, what she was, and her sacrifices.

and all his men and the boys in the house, do come out of it, and leave it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most part of the night, and they do besides pass the night away in songs and music. Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, being that year to celebrate this feast, Clodius, who had yet no hair on his face, and thereby thought he should not be bewrayed, disguised himself in a singing wench's apparel, because his face was very like unto a young wench. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chamber-maid that was made privy unto it, she left him, and ran to Pompeia her mistress, to tell her that he was come. The chamber-maid tarried long before she came again, insomuch as Clodius, being weary waiting for her where she left him, he took his pleasure and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large rooms in it, still shunning the light; and was by chance met withal° by one of Aurelia's maids, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. Clodius refusing to play, the maid pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: Clodius then answered her, that he tarried for Abra, one of Pompeia's women. So Aurelia's maid, knowing him by his voice, ran straight where the lights and ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in woman's apparel. The women therewith were so amazed, that Aurelia caused them presently to leave off the ceremonies of the sacrifice, and to hide their secret things; and having seen the gates fast locked, went immediately up and down the house with torch light to seek out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of Pompeia's maid, with whom he hid himself. Thus Clodius being found out, and known of the women, they thrust him out of the doors by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this chance as soon as they came home. The next morning, there ran a great rumour through the city, how Clodius had attempted a great villany, and that he deserved

Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddess.

not only to be punished of them whom he had slandered, but also of the commonwealth and the gods. There was one of the tribunes of the people that did indite him, and accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the nobility and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burthened him with many horrible and detestable facts. Notwithstanding the people stoutly defended Clodius against their accusations: and this did help him much against the judges, which were amazed, and afraid to stir the people. This notwithstanding, Cæsar presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by Clodius' accuser to be a witness against him, he answered, he knew nothing of that they objected against Clodius. This answer being clean contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked Cæsar, why then he had put away his wife: "Because I will not," said he, "that my wife be so much as suspected." And some say that Cæsar spake truly as he thought. But others think that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to save Clodius. So Clodius was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the judges gave a confused judgment, for the fear they stood in one way of the danger of the common people, if they condemned him, and for the ill opinion on the other side of the nobility, if they did quit° him.

Clodius accused for profaning the sacrifices of the good goddess.

Cæsar putteth away his wife Pompeia.

Clodius quit by the judges for profaning the sacrifices of the good goddess.

The government of the province of Spain° being fallen unto Cæsar, for that he was Prætor, his crèditors came and cried out upon him, and were importunate of him to be paid. Cæsar, being unable to satisfy them, was compelled to go unto Crassus,° who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stood in need of Cæsar's boldness and courage to withstand Pompey's° greatness in the commonwealth. Crassus became his surety unto his

Cæsar Prætor of Spain.

Crassus surety for Cæsar to his creditors.

greediest creditors for the sum of eight hundred and thirty talents°: whereupon they suffered Cæsar to depart to the government of his province. In this journey it is reported, that passing over the mountains of the Alps, they came through a little poor village that had not many households, and yet poor cottages. There his friends that did accompany him asked him merrily, if there were any contending for offices in that town, and whether there were any strife there amongst the noblemen for honour. Cæsar speaking in good earnest, answered: "I cannot tell that," said he, "but for my part I had rather be the chiefest man here than the second person in Rome." Another time also when he was in Spain, reading the history of Alexander's acts, when he had read it, he was sorrowful a good while after, and then burst out in weeping. His friends seeing that, marvelled what should be the cause of his sorrow. He answered them, "Do ye not think," said he, "that I have good cause to be heavy, when king Alexander, being no elder than myself is now, had in old time won so many nations and countries; and that I hitherunto have done nothing worthy of myself?" Therefore when he was come into Spain, he was very careful of his business, and had in few days joined ten new ensigns° more of footmen unto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the Callecians and Lusitanians, he conquered all, and went as far as the great sea Oceanum, subduing all the people which before knew not the Romans for their lords. There he took order° for pacifying of the war, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friends one with another, but specially he pacified all suits of law and strife betwixt the debtors and creditors, which grew by reason of usury. For he ordained that the creditors should take yearly two parts of the revenue of their debtors, until such time as they had paid themselves: and that the debtors should have the third part themselves to live withal.

Cæsar's acts in Spain.

Cæsar's order between the creditor and the debtor.

He having won great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his government very rich, and his soldiers also full of rich spoils, who called him Imperator, to say sovereign Captain. Now the Romans having a custom, that such as demanded honour of triumph should remain a while without the city, and that they, on the other side which sued for the Consulship should of necessity be there in person: Cæsar coming unhappily at the very time when the Consuls were chosen, he sent to pray the Senate to do him that favour, that, being absent, he might by his friends sue for the Consulship. Cato at the first did vehemently inveigh against it, vouching° an express law to the contrary. But afterwards, perceiving that notwithstanding the reasons he alleged, many of the Senators (being won by Cæsar) favoured his request, yet he cunningly sought all he could to prevent them, prolonging time, in dilating his oration until night. Cæsar thereupon determined rather to give over the suit of his triumph, and to make suit for the Consulship: and so came into the city, and had such a device with him, as went beyond them all but Cato only. His device was this: Pompey and Crassus, two of the greatest personages of the city of Rome being at jar together, Cæsar made them friends, and by that means got unto himself the power of them both, for by colour° of that gentle act and friendship of his, he subtilly (unawares to them all) did greatly alter and change the state of the commonwealth. For it was not the private discord between Pompey and Cæsar, as many men thought, that caused the civil war: but rather it was their agreement together, who joined all their powers first to overthrow the state of the Senate and nobility, and afterwards they fell at jar one with another. But Cato, that then foresaw and prophecied many times what would follow, was taken but for a vain man:

Cæsar's soldiers called him Imperator.

Cæsar reconcileth Pompey and Crassus together.

Cato's foresight and prophecy.

but afterwards they found him a wiser man than happy° in his counsel.

Thus Cæsar, being brought unto the assembly of the election, in the middest of these two noble persons whom he had before reconciled together, he was there chosen Consul with Calphurnius Bibulus, without gainsaying or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entered into his office, he began to put forth laws meeter for a seditious Tribune of the people than for a Consul: because by them he preferred the division of lands, and distributing of corn to every citizen gratis, to please them withal. But when the noblemen of the Senate were against his device, he, desiring no better occasion, began to cry out and to protest, that by the over-hardness and austerity of the Senate, they drave him against his will to lean unto the people: and thereupon, having Crassus on the one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them openly in the assembly, if they did give their consent unto the laws which he had put forth. They both answered, they did. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that threatened him with force of sword to let° him. Crassus gave him his word, he would; Pompey also did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his sword and target° both, against them that would withstand him with their swords. These words offended much the Senate, being far unmeet for his gravity, and undecent for the majesty and honour he carried, and most of all uncomely for the presence of the Senate whom he should have reverenced: and were speeches fitter for a rash light-headed youth, than for his person. Howbeit the common people on the other side, they rejoiced.

Cæsar's first Consulship with Calphurnius Bibulus.

Cæsar's laws.

Lex agraria.

Then Cæsar, because he would be more assured of Pompey's power and friendship, he gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, which was made sure before° unto Servilius Cæpio, and promised him° in exchange Pompey's daughter, who was sure

also unto Faustus, the son of Sylla. And shortly after also, Cæsar self did marry Calphurnia, the daughter of Piso,° whom he caused to be made Consul, to succeed him the next year following. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witness, that it was a shameful matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that sort make havoc of the Empire of Rome,° by such horrible bawdy matches, distributing among themselves, through those wicked marriages, the governments of the provinces, and of great armies. Calphurnius Bibulus, fellow Consul with Cæsar, perceiving that he did contend in vain, making all the resistance he could to withstand this law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be slain with Cato in the market-place and assembly; he kept close in his house all the rest of his Consulship. When Pompey had married Julia, he filled all the market-place with soldiers, and by open force authorized the laws which Cæsar made in the behalf of the people. Furthermore, he procured that Cæsar had Gaul on this side and beyond the Alps, and all Illyria,° with four legions granted him for five years.

Cæsar married his daughter Julia to Pompey.

Cæsar married Calphurnia the daughter of Piso.

Pompey by force of arms authorized Cæsar's laws.

Then Cato standing up to speak against it, Cæsar bad his officers lay hold on him, and carry him to prison, thinking he would have appealed unto the Tribunes.° But Cato said never a word, when he went his way. Cæsar perceiving then, that not only the Senators and nobility were offended, but that the common people also for the reverence they bare unto Cato's virtues, were ashamed and went away with silence; he himself secretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be President of the Senate under him, but left the city, because they could not away with° his doings. And of

Cæsar sent Cato to prison.

them there was an old man called Considius, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to council because they were afraid of his soldiers. Cæsar answered him again: "and why then dost not thou keep thee at home, for the same fear?" Considius replied, "because my age taketh away fear from me: for having so short a time to live, I have no care to prolong it further." The shamefullest part that Cæsar played while he was Consul seemeth to be this: when he chose P. Clodius Tribune of the people, that had offered his wife such dishonour, and profaned the holy ancient mysteries of the women, which were celebrated in his own house. Clodius sued to be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy Cicero: and Cæsar self also departed not from Rome to his army before he had set them together by the ears, and driven Cicero out of Italy.

Cæsar, by Clodius, drave Cicero out of Italy.

All these things they say he did before the wars with the Gauls.° But the time of the great armies and conquests he made afterwards, and of the war in the which he subdued all the Gauls (entering into another course of life far contrary unto the first) made him to be known for as valiant a soldier and as excellent a captain to lead men, as those that afore him had been counted the wisest and most valiant generals that ever were, and that by their valiant deeds had achieved great honour. For whosoever would compare the house of the Fabians, of the Scipios, of the Metellians, yea, those also of his own time, or long before him, as Sylla, Marius, the two Luculliians, and Pompey self:

Cæsar a valiant soldier, and a skilful captain.

Whose fame ascendeth up unto the heavens:

it will appear that Cæsar's prowess and deeds of arms did exceel them all together. The one,° in the hard countries where he made wars: another,° in enlarging the realms and countries which he joined unto the Empire of Rome: another,

in the multitude and power of his enemies whom he overcame another, in the rudeness and austere nature of men with whom he had to do, whose manners afterwards he softened and made civil: another, in courtesy and clemency which he used unto them whom he had conquered: another, in great bounty and liberality bestowed unto them that served under him in those wars: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battles he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had slain in battle. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul he took by force and assault above eight hundred towns: he conquered three hundred several nations: and having before him in battle thirty hundred thousand soldiers, at sundry times, he slew ten hundred thousand of them, and took as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloved of his soldiers, that to do him service (when otherwise they were no more than other men in an private quarrel) if Cæsar's honour were touched they were invincible, and would so desperately venture themselves and with such fury, that no man was able to abide them.

Cæsar's conquests in Gaul.

The love and respect of Cæsar's soldiers unto him.

And this appeareth plainly by the example of Acilius: who in a battle by sea before the city of Marseilles, bording one of his enemies' ships, one cut off his right hand with a sword; but yet he forsook not his target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies' faces, and made them fly, so that he won their ship from them. And Cassius Scæva also in a conflict before the city of Dyrrachium,° having one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder stricken through with a dart, and his thigh with another, and having received thirty arrows upon his shield, he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yield unto them. But when two of them came running to him, he clave one of their shoulders from his body with

The wonderful valiantness of Acilius, Cassius Scæva, and divers others of Cæsar's soldiers.

sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turn his back, and at the length saved himself, by means of his companions that came to help him. And in Britain also, when the captains of the bands were driven into a marrish or bog full of mire and dirt, and that the enemies did fiercely assail them there, Cæsar then standing to view the battle, he saw a private soldier of his thrust in among the captains, and fought so valiantly in their defence, that at the length he drave the barbarous people to fly, and by his means saved the captains, which otherwise were in great danger to have been cast away. Then this soldier, being the hindmost man of all the captains, marching with great pain through the mire and dirt, half swimming and half on foot, in the end got to the other side, but left his shield behind him. Cæsar, wondering at his noble courage, ran to him with joy to embrace him. But the poor soldier hanging down his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell down at Cæsar's feet, and besought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target behind him. And in Africa also, Scipio° having taken one of Cæsar's ships, and Granius Petronius abord on her amongst other, not long before chosen Treasurer; he put all the rest to the sword but him, and said he would give him his life. But Petronius answered him again, that Cæsar's soldiers did not use to have their lives given them, but to give others their lives: and with these words he drew his sword, and thrust himself through.

Granius Petronius.

Now Cæsar's self did breed this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gave them bountifully, and did honour them also, shewing thereby, that he did not heap up riches in the wars to maintain his life afterwards in wantonness and pleasure, but that he did keep it in store, honourably to reward their valiant service: and that by so much he thought himself rich, by how much he was liberal in rewarding of them that had deserved it. Furthermore, they did not wonder so much

at his valiantness in putting himself at every instant in such manifest danger, and in taking so extreme pains as he did, knowing that it was his greedy desire of honour that set him on fire, and pricked him forward to do it: but that he always continued all labour and hardness, more than his body could bear, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was lean, white, and soft-skinned, and often subject to headache, and otherwhile to the falling sickness (the which took him the first time, as it is reported, in Corduba, a city of Spain): but yet therefore yielded not to the disease of his body, to make it a cloak to cherish him withal, but contrarily, took the pains of war as a medicine to cure his sick body, fighting always with his disease, travelling continually, living soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coach or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him always able to do something: and in the day-time he would travel up and down the country to see towns, castles, and strong places. He had always a secretary with him in the coach, who did still write as he went by the way, and a soldier behind him that carried his sword. He made such speed the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office, that in eight days he came to the River of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth, that holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his horse upon the spur. In his wars in Gaul, he did further exercise himself to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two secretaries at once with as much as they could write: and, as Oppius writeth, more than two at a time. As it is reported, that Cæsar was the first that devised friends might talk together by writing cyphers in letters, when he had no leisure to speak with them for his urgent business, and for the great distance besides from Rome. How little account Cæsar made of his diet, this example doth prove it. Cæsar supping one night in Milan with his friend

Cæsar had the falling sickness.

Valerius Leo, there was served sperage° to his board, and oil of perfume put into it instead of sallet-oil.° He simply eat it, and found no fault, blaming his friends that were offended: and told them, that it had been enough for them to have abstained to eat of that they misliked, and not to shame their friend, and now that he lacked good manners that found fault with his friend. Another time, as he travelled through the country, he was driven by foul weather on the sudden to take a poor man's cottage, that had but one little cabin in it, and that was so narrow, that one man could but scarce lie in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him: "Greatest rooms are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessary rooms for the sickest persons." And thereupon he called Oppius that was sick to lie there all night: and he himself, with the rest of his friends, lay without doors, under the easing° of the house.

The temperance of Cæsar in his diet.

Cæsar's civility not to blame his friend.

The first war that Cæsar made with the Gauls, was with the Helvetians and Tigurinians,° who having set fire on all their good cities, to the number of twelve, and four hundred villages besides, came to invade that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before, unto whom for valiantness they gave no place: and they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand souls in all) whereof there were an hundred four score and ten thousand fighting men. Of those, it was not Cæsar himself that overcame the Tigurinians, but Labienus° his lieutenant, that overthrew them by the river of Arax. But the Helvetians themselves came suddenly with their army to set upon him, as he was going towards a city of his confederates. Cæsar perceiving that, made haste to get him some place of strength, and there did set his men in battle ray.° When one brought him his horse to

The Tigurinians slain by Labienus. Arax fl.

Cæsar refused his horse when he fought a battle.

get upon, which he used in battle, he said unto them: "When I have overcome mine enemies, I will then get upon him to follow the chase, but now let us give them charge." Therewith he marched forward on foot and gave charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he could make them fly that were in battle. But the greatest trouble he had was to distress their camp, and to break their strength which they had máde with their carts. For there, they that before had fled from the battle did not only put themselves in force, and valiantly fought it out: but their wives and children also, fighting for their lives to the death, were all slain, and the battle was scant ended at midnight. Now in the act of this victory was famous, unto that he also added another as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battle he gathered together again above an hundred thousand of them and compelled them to return home into their country which they had forsaken, and unto their towns also which they had burnt: because he feared the Germans would come over the river of Rheyn,° and occupy that country lying void.

The Helvetians slain by Cæsar.

The second war he made, was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans: although before he himself had caused Ariovistus their king to be received for a confederate of the Romans. Notwithstanding, they were grown very unquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainly, that having any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their own, but meant to invade and possess the rest of Gaul. Cæsar perceiving that some of his captains trembled for fear, but specially the young gentlemen of noble houses of Rome, which thought to have gone to the wars with him as only for their pleasure and gain, he called them to council, and commanded them that were afraid that they should depart home, and no

Rhenus fl. Cæsar made war with king Ariovistus.

put themselves in danger against their wills, sith° they had such womanish faint hearts, to shrink when he had need of them. And for himself, he said, he would set upon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion only, saying that the enemies were no valianter than the Cimbri had been, nor that he was a captain inferior unto Marius. This oration being made, the soldiers of the tenth legion sent their lieutenants unto him, to thank him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their captains, and all of them together followed him many days' journey with good will to serve him, until they came within two hundred furlongs of the camp of the enemies. Ariovistus' courage was well cooled, when he saw Cæsar was come, and that the Romans came to seek out the Germans; where° they thought, and made account, that they durst not have abidden them°: and therefore, nothing mistrusting it would have come so to pass, he wondered much at Cæsar's courage, and the more when he saw his own army in a maze withal. But much more did their courage fall, by reason of the foolish women-prophesiers they had amongst them, which did foretell things to come: who, considering the waves and trouble of the rivers, and the terrible noise they made running down the stream, did forewarn them not to fight until the new moon. Cæsar having intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous people thereupon stirred not, thought it best then to set upon them, being discouraged with this superstitious fear, rather than, losing time, he should tarry their leisure. So he did skirmish with them even to their forts and little hills where they lay, and by this means provoked them so, that with great fury they came down to fight. There he overcame them in battle, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlongs, even unto the river of Rheyn: and he filled all the

The wise women of Germany; how they did foretell things to come.

King Ariovistus overthrown by Cæsar.

fields thitherto with dead bodies and spoils. Howbeit Ariovistus, flying with speed, got over the river of Rheyn, and escaped with a few of his men. It is said that there were slain fourscore thousand persons at this battle.

After this exploit, Cæsar left his army amongst the Sequanes to winter there: and he himself in the meantime, thinking of the affairs at Rome, went over the mountains into Gaul about the river of Po, being part of his province which he had in charge. For there the river called Rubico divideth the rest of Italy from Gaul on this side of the Alps. Cæsar lying there did practise° to make friends in Rome, because many came thither to see him: unto whom he granted their suits they demanded, and sent them home also, partly with liberal rewards, and partly with large promises and hope. Now during all this conquest of the Gauls, Pompey did not consider how Cæsar enterchangeably did conquer the Gauls with the weapons of the Romans, and wan the Romans again with the money of the Gauls. Cæsar, being advertised° that the Belgæ° (which were the warlikest men of all the Gauls, and that occupied the third part of Gaul) were all up in arms, and had raised a great power of men together: he straight made towards them with all possible speed, and found them spoiling and overrunning the country of the Gauls, their neighbours, and confederates of the Romans. So he gave them battle, and they fighting cowardly, he overthrew the most part of them, which were in a troup together; and slew such a number of them, that the Romans passed over deep rivers and lakes on foot, upon their dead bodies the rivers were so full of them.

The Belgæ overcome by Cæsar.

After this overthrow, they that dwelt nearest unto the sea side, and were next neighbours unto the Ocean, did yield themselves without any compulsion or fight: whereupon he led his army against the Nervians, the stoutest warriors of all the Belgæ. They

Nervii the stoutest warriors of all the Belgæ.

dwelling in the wood country, had conveyed their wives, children, and goods into a marvellous great forest, as far from their enemies as they could; and being about the number of six score thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and set upon Cæsar, when his army was out of order, and fortifying of his camp, little looking to have fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the Romans, and compassing in the twelfth and seventh legion, they slew all the centurions and captains of the bands. And had not Cæsar self taken his shield on his arm, and, flying in amongst the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth legion also, seeing him in danger, run unto him from the top of the hill where they stood in battle, and broken the ranks of their enemies, there had not a Roman escaped alive that day. But taking example of a Cæsar's valiantness, they fought desperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the Nervians fly, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in a manner slain in the field. It is written that of threescore thousand fighting men, there escaped only but five hundred: and of four hundred gentlemen and counsellors of the Romans, but three saved. The Senate understanding it at Rome, ordained that they should do sacrifice unto the gods, and keep feasts and solemn processions fifteen days together without intermission, having never made the like ordinance at Rome for any victory that ever was obtained: because they saw the danger had been marvellous great, so many nations rising as they did in arms together against him: and further, the love of the people unto him made his victory much more famous.

The Nervii slain by Cæsar.

For when Cæsar had set his affairs at a stay° in Gaul, on the other side of the Alps, he always used to lie about the river of Po in the winter time, to give direction for the establishing of things at Rome at his pleasure. For not only they that made suit for offices at Rome were chosen Magistrates, by

means of Cæsar's money which he gave them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they were in office did all that they could to increase Cæsar's power and greatness: but the greatest and chiefest men also of the nobility went into Lucca unto him; as Pompey, Crassus, Appius, Prætor of Sardinia, and Nepos, Proconsul in Spain. Insomuch that there were at one time sixscore sergeants carrying rods and axes before the Magistrates: and above two hundred Senators besides. There they fell in consultation, and determined that Pompey and Crassus should again be chosen Consuls the next year following. Furthermore they did appoint, that Cæsar should have money again delivered him to pay his army; and besides, did prorogue the time of his government five years further. This was thought a very strange and an unreasonable matter unto wise men; for they themselves that had taken so much money of Cæsar, persuaded the Senate to let him have money of the common treasure, as though he had had none before: yea, to speak more plainly, they compelled the Senate unto it, sighing and lamenting to see the decrees they passed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into Cyprus. Howbeit Faonius, that followed Cato's steps, when he saw that he could not prevail nor withstand them, he went out of the Senate in choler, and cried out amongst the people that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: some for the reverence they bare unto Pompey and Crassus; and others favouring Cæsar's proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet themselves, and stirred not.

The great lords of Rome came to Lucca to Cæsar.

Then Cæsar, returning into Gaul beyond the Alps unto his army, found there a great war in the country. For two great nations of Germany had not long before passed over the river of Rheyn, to conquer new lands: and the one of these people were called Ipes, and the other Tenterides.° Now touching the

battle which Cæsar fought with them, he himself doth describe it in his Commentaries, in this sort. That the barbarous people having sent ambassadors unto him to require° peace for a certain time, they notwithstanding, against the law of arms, came and set upon him as he travelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of arms overthrew five thousand of his horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted their coming. Again, that they sent him other ambassadors to mock him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith° caused his whole army to march against them, thinking it a folly and madness to keep faith with such traitorous barbarous breakers of leagues. Cauutius° writeth, that the Senate appointing again to do new sacrifice, processions, and feasts, to give thanks to the gods for this victory, Cato was of contrary opinion, that Cæsar should be delivered into the hands of the barbarous people, for to purge their city and commonwealth of this breach of faith, and to turn the curse upon him that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came over the Rheyn (being about the number of four hundred thousand persons) they were all in manner slain, saving a very few of them, that flying from the battle got over the river of Rheyn again, who were received by the Sicambrians, another people of the Germans.

Ipes and Tenterides, people of Germany.

Cæsar's horsemen put to flight.

The Ipes and Tenterides slain by Cæsar.

Sicambri, a people of the Germans.

Cæsar taking this occasion against them, lacking no good-will of himself besides, to have the honour to be counted the first Roman that ever passed over the river of Rheyn with an army, he built a bridge° over it. This river is marvellous broad, and runneth with great fury; and in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one side to the other: and it hath so strong and swift a stream

Cæsar made a bridge over the river of Rhine.

besides, that men casting down great bodies of trees into the river (which the stream bringeth down with it) did with the great blows and force thereof marvellously shake the posts of the bridge he had set up. But to prevent the blows of those trees, and also to break the fury of the stream, he made a pile of great wood above the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ram them into the bottom of the river; so that in ten days' space he had set up and finished his bridge of the goodliest carpenters' work, and most excellent invention to see to, that could be possibly thought or devised. Then, passing over his army upon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the Suevians,° which were the warlikest people of all Germany, had gotten themselves with their goods into wonderful great valleys and bogs, full of woods and forests. Now when he had burnt all the country of his enemies, and confirmed a league with the confederates of the Romans, he returned back again into Gaul after he had tarried eighteen days at the most in Germany, on the other side of the Rheyn.

Cæsar's journey into England.

The journey he made also into England° was a noble enterprise and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the West Ocean with an army by sea, and that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make war in that so great and famous iland (which many ancient writers would not believe that it was so indeed, and did make them vary about it, saying it was but a fable and a lie), and was the first that enlarged the Roman Empire beyond the earth inabitable.° For twice he passed over the narrow sea against° the firm land of Gaul, and fighting many battles there, did hurt his enemies more than inrich his own men: because, of men hardly brought up and poor there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon the war had no such success as he looked for, and therefore, taking pledges only of the King, and imposing a yearly tribute upon him, to be paid unto the people of Rome, he returned

gain into Gaul. There he was no sooner landed, but he ound letters ready to be sent over the sea unto him: in the hich he was advertised from Rome of the death f his daughter, that she was dead with child by ompey. For the which Pompey and Cæsar both ere marvellous sorrowful: and their friends ourned also, thinking that this alliance which maintained the ommonwealth (that otherwise was very tickle°) in good peace nd concord, was now severed and broken asunder; and the ther° likely, because the child lived not long after the mother. o the common people at Rome took the corpse of Julia, in espite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the field of Mars.

The death of Julia Cæsar's daughter.

Now Cæsar, being driven to divide his army (that was very reat) in sundry garrisons for the winter-time, and returning gain into Italy as he was wont, all Gaul rebelled gain, and had raised great armies in every quarter o set upon the Romans, and to assay° if they ould distress their forts where they lay in garri- on. The greatest number and most warlike men of these auls that entered into action of rebellion, were led by one mbiorix°: and first did set upon the garrisons of Cotta and ituriusº whom they slew, and all the soldiers ney had about them. Then they went with reescore thousand fighting men to besiege the rrisons which Quintus Cicero° had in his charge, nd had almost taken them by force, because all the soldiers ere every man of them hurt: but they were so valiant and ourageous, that they did more than men (as they say) in de- nding of themselves. These news being come to Cæsar, who as far from thence at that time, he returned with all possible peed, and leaving seven thousand soldiers, made haste to help icero that was in such distress. The Gauls that did besiege icero, understanding of Cæsar's coming, raised their siege ncontinently, to go and meet him: making account that he

The rebellion of the Gauls.

Cotta, and Titurius, with their army, slain.

was but a handful in their hands, they were so few. Cæsar to deceive them, still drew back, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meet for a captain that had but a few to fight with a great number of his enemies; and commanded his men in no wise to stir out to skirmish with them but compelled them to raise up the rampiers° of his camp and to fortify the gates as men that were afraid, because° the enemies should the less esteem of them: until at length he took opportunity by their disorderly coming to assail the trenches of his camp, (they were grown to such a presumptuous boldness and bravery,) and then sallying out upon them, he put them all to flight with slaughter of a great number of them. This did suppress all the rebellions of the Gauls in those parts, and furthermore he himself in person went in the midst of winter thither, where he heard they did rebel: for that there was come a new supply out of Italy of three whole legions, in their room which he had lost: of the which, two of them Pompey lent him, and the other legion he himself had levied in Gaul about the river Po. During these stirs, brake forth the beginning of the greatest and most dangerous war that he had in all Gaul, the which had been secretly practised of long time by the chiefest and most warlike people of that country, who had levied a wonderful great power. For everywhere they levied multitudes of men, and great riches besides, to fortify their strongholds. Furthermore, the country where they rose was very ill to come unto, and specially at that time, being winter; when the rivers were frozen, the woods and forests covered with snow, the meadows drowned with floods, and the fields so deep of snow that no ways were to be found, neither the marrishes° nor rivers to be discerned, all was so overflown and drowned with water: all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keep Cæsar from

Cæsar slew the Gauls led by Ambiorix.

The second rebellion of the Gauls against Cæsar.

setting upon the rebels. Many nations of the Gauls were of this conspiracy, but two of the chiefest were the Avernians and Carnutes: who had chosen Vercingentorix° for their lieutenant-general, whose father the Gauls before had put to death, because they thought he aspired to make himself king. This Vercingentorix, dividing his army into divers parts, and appointing divers captains over them, had gotten to take his part all the people and countries thereabouts, even as far as they that dwell towards the sea Adriatick,* having further determined (understanding that Rome did conspire against Cæsar) to make all Gaul rise in arms against him. So that if he had but tarried a little longer, until Cæsar had entered into his civil wars, he had put all Italy in as great fear and danger as it was when the Cimbri did come and invade it. But Cæsar, that was valiant in all assays and dangers of war, and that was very skilful to take time and opportunity, so soon as he understood the news of this rebellion, he departed with speed and returned back the self-same way which he had gone, making the barbarous people know that they should deal with an army invincible, and which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speed he had made with the same in so sharp and hard a winter. For where they would not possibly have believed that a post or currer° could have come in so short a time from the place where he was unto them, they wondered when they saw him burning and destroying the country, the towns, the strong forts, where he came with his army, taking all to mercy that yielded unto him: until such times as the Hedui° took arms against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the Romans, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore Cæsar's men, when they understood that they

Vercingentorix captain of the rebels gainst Cæsar.

*** Some say, that this place is to be read in the Greek, πρὸς τὸν Ἀραριν, which is, to the river of Soane.**

The Hedui rebel against the Romans.

had joined with the rebels, they were marvellous sorry, and half discouraged. Thereupon Cæsar, departing from those parts went through the country of the Lingones to enter the country of the Burgonians,* who were confederates of the Romans, and the nearest unto Italy on that side, in respect of all the rest of Gaul. Thither the enemies came to set upon him and to environ him on all sides, with an infinite number of thousands of fighting men. Cæsar on the other side tarried their coming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them so afraid of him, that at length he overcame the barbarous people. But at the first, it seemeth notwithstanding, that he had received some overthrow: for the Avernians shewed a sword hanged up in one of their temples, which they said they had won from Cæsar. Insomuch as Cæsar self coming that way by occasion, saw it, and fell a-laughing at it. But some of his friends going about to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bad them let it alone and touch it not, for it was an holy thing.

* Sequani.

Vercingentorix overthrown by Cæsar.

Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saved themselves by flying, the most part of them were gotten with their king into the city of Alexia,° the which Cæsar went and besieged, although it seemed inexpugnable,° both for the height of the walls as also for the multitude of soldiers they had to defend it. But now, during this siege, he fell into a marvellous great danger without,° almost incredible. For an army of three hundred thousand fighting men, of the best men that were among all the nations of the Gauls, came against him being at the siege of Alexia, besides them that were within the city, which amounted to the number of three-score and ten thousand fighting men at the least: so that perceiving he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driven to fortify himself with two walls, the one against them of

The siege of Alexia.

Cæsar's danger, and wise policy.

the city, and the other against them without. For if those two armies had joined together, Cæsar had been utterly undone. And therefore, this siege of Alexia, and the battle he wan before it, did deservedly win him more honour and fame than any other. For there, in that instant and extreme danger, he showed more valiantness and wisdom than he did in any battle he fought before. But what a wonderful thing was this! that they of the city never heard anything of them that came to aid them until Cæsar had overcome them: and furthermore, that the Romans themselves, which kept watch upon the wall that was built against the city, knew also no more of it than they, until it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentations of men and women in Alexia, when they perceived on the other side of the city such a number of glistering shields of gold and silver, such store of bloody corslets and armours, such a deal of plate and moveables, and such a number of tents and pavilions after the fashion of the Gauls, which the Romans had gotten of their spoils in their camp! Thus suddenly was this great army vanished, as a dream or vision: where the most part of them were slain that day in battle. Furthermore, after that they within the city of Alexia had done great hurt to Cæsar and themselves also, in the end they all yielded themselves. And Vercingentorix (he that was their king and captain in all this war) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horse furnished with rich caparison accordingly, and rode round about Cæsar, who sat in his chair of estate. Then lighting from his horse, he took off his caparison and furniture, and unarmed himself, and laid all on the ground, and went and sat down at Cæsar's feet, and said never a word. So Cæsar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the wars, to lead him afterwards in the triumph at Rome.

Cæsar's great victory at Alexia.

Alexia yielded up to Cæsar.

Now Cæsar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey,

and Pompey him also. For Crassus being killed amongst the Parthians, who only did see that one of them two must needs fall, nothing kept Cæsar from being the greatest person, but because he destroyed not Pompey, that was the greater: neither did anything let Pompey to withstand that it should not come to pass, but because he did not first overcome Cæsar, whom only he feared. For till then, Pompey had not long feared him, but always before set light by him, thinking it an easy matter for him to put him down when he would, sith he had brought him to that greatness he was come unto. But Cæsar contrarily, having had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wrestler that studieth for tricks to overthrow his adversary, he went far from Rome, to exercise himself in the wars of Gaul; where he did train his army, and presently by his valiant deeds did increase his fame and honour. By these means became Cæsar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution, but some occasions of colour,° which Pompey partly gave him, and partly also the time delivered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill government at that time of the commonwealth at Rome. For they that made suit for honour and offices bought the voices of the people with ready money, which they gave out openly to usury, without shame or fear. Thereupon the common people that had sold their voices for money, came to the market-place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hired them: not with their voices, but with their bows, slings, and swords. So that the assembly seldom times brake up, but the pulpit for orations was defiled and sprinkled with the blood of them that were slain in the market-place, the city remaining all that time without government of magistrate, like a ship left without a pilot. Insomuch as men of deep judgment and discretion, seeing such fury and madness

The discord betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, and the cause of the civil wars.

Cæsar's craftiness.

The people's voices bought at Rome for money.

of the people, thought themselves happy if the commonwealth were no worse troubled than with the absolute state of a monarchy and sovereign lord to govern them. Furthermore, there were many that were not afraid to speak it openly, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the commonwealth, but by the authority of one man only, that should command them all: and that this medicine must be ministered by the hands of him that was the gentlest physician, meaning covertly Pompey. Now Pompey used many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly underhand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to pass that he might be chosen Dictator. Cato finding the mark he shot at, and fearing lest in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator, he persuaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, that, contenting himself with that more just and lawful government, he should not covet the other unlawful. The Senate, following his counsel, did not only make him Consul, but further did prorogue° his government of the provinces he had. For he had two provinces, all Spain and Africk, the which he governed by his lieutenants: and further, he received yearly of the common treasure, to pay his soldiers, a thousand talents. Hereupon Cæsar took occasion also to send his men to make suit in his name for the consulship, and also to have the government of his provinces prorogued. Pompey at the first held his peace; but Marcellus° and Lentulus (that otherwise hated Cæsar) withstood them, and, to shame and dishonour him, had much needless speech in matters of weight. Furthermore they took away the freedom from the colonies which Cæsar had lately brought unto the city of Novumcomum in Gaul towards Italy, where Cæsar not long before had lodged them. And moreover, when Marcellus was Consul, he made one of the senators in that city to be

Pompey governed Spain and Africa.

Cæsar sueth the second time to be Consul, and to have his government prorogued.

whipped with rods, who came to Rome about those matters: and said, he gave him those marks, that he should know he was no Roman citizen, and bade him go his way, and tell Caesar of it.

After Marcellus' consulship, Caesar, setting open his coffers of the treasure he had gotten among the Gauls, did frankly give it out amongst the magistrates at Rome, without restraint or spare. First, he set Curio the tribune clear out of debt: and gave also unto Paul the Consul a thousand five hundred talents, with which money he built that notable palace by the market-place, called Paul's Basilick, in the place of Fulvius' Basilick. Then Pompey, being afraid of this practice,° began openly to procure, both by himself and his friends, that they should send Caesar a successor: and moreover, he sent unto Caesar for his two legions of men of war, which he had lent him for the conquest of Gaul. Caesar sent him them again, and gave every private soldier two hundred and fifty silver drachmas.° Now, they that brought those two legions back from Caesar, gave out ill and seditious words against him among the people, and did also abuse Pompey with false persuasions and vain hopes, informing him that he was marvellously desired and wished for in Caesar's camp: and though in Rome, for the malice and secret spite which the governors there did bear him, he could hardly obtain that he desired, yet in Gaul he might assure himself, that all the army was at his commandment. They added further also, that if the soldiers there did once return over the mountains again into Italy, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate Caesar, because he wearied them with too much labour and continual fight: and withal, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding security in Pompey, and a vain conceit of himself, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation of war, as though he had no occasion to be afraid:

Caesar bribeth the magistrates at Rome.

Pompey abused by flatterers.

but only studied to thwart Cæsar in speech, and to cross the suits he made. Howbeit Cæsar passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of Cæsar's captains which was sent to Rome to prosecute his suit, being at the Senate door, and hearing that they denied to prorogue Cæsar's time of government which he sued for, clapping his hand upon his sword, he said: "Sith you will not grant it him, this shall give it him." Notwithstanding, the requests that Cæsar propounded carried great semblance of reason with them. For he said, that he was contented to lay down arms, so that Pompey did the like: and that both of them, as private persons, should come and make suit of their citizens to obtain honourable recompence: declaring unto them that, taking arms from him, and granting them unto Pompey, they did wrongfully accuse him in° going about to make himself a tyrant, and in the mean time to grant the other means to be a tyrant. Curio making these offers and persuasions openly before the people in the name of Cæsar, he was heard with great rejoicing and clapping of hands, and there were some that cast flowers and nosegays upon him when he went his way, as they commonly used to do unto any man, when he hath obtained victory and won the games. Then Antonius, one of the tribunes, brought a letter sent from Cæsar, and made it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But Scipio° in the Senate, Pompey's father-in-law, made this motion: that if Cæsar did not dismiss his army by a certain day appointed him, the Romans should proclaim him an enemy unto Rome. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the senators, if they thought it good that Pompey should dismiss his army: but few agreed to that demand. After that again they asked, if they liked that Cæsar should dismiss his army, thereto they all in manner answered, "Yea, yea." But when Antonius requested again that both of them should lay down arms, then they were all indifferently° of his mind. Notwithstanding, because Scipio

Cæsar's requests unto the Senate.

did insolently behave himself, and Marcellus also, who cried, that they must use force of arms and not men's opinion against a thief, the Senate rose straight upon it without further determination; and men changed apparel through the city because of this dissension, as they use to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from Cæsar, which seemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would grant him Gaul that lieth between the mountains of the Alps and Italy and Illyria, with two legions only, and then that he would request nothing else; until he made suit for the second Consulship. Cicero the orator, that was newly come from the government of Cilicia, travailed to reconcile them together, and pacified Pompey the best he could: who told him he would yield to anything he would have him, so he did let him alone with his army. So Cicero persuaded Cæsar's friends to be contented, to take those two provinces, and six thousand men only, that they might be friends and at peace together. Pompey very willingly yielded unto it, and granted them. But Lentulus the Consul would not agree to it, but shamefully drave Curio and Antonius out of the Senate: whereby they themselves gave Cæsar a happy occasion and colour as could be, stirring up his soldiers the more against them, when he shewed them these two noblemen and tribunes of the people, that were driven to fly, disguised like slaves, in a carrier's cart. For they were driven for fear to steal out of Rome, disguised in that manner. Now at that time Cæsar had not in all about him above five thousand footmen and three thousand horsemen: for the rest of his army he left on the other side of the mountains, to be brought after him by his lieutenants. So, considering that, for the execution of his enterprise, he should not need so many men of war at the first, but rather, suddenly stealing upon them, to make them afraid with valiantness, taking benefit of the opportunity of time; because he

Antonius and Curio, tribunes of the people, fly from Rome to Cæsar.

should more easily make his enemies afraid of him, coming so suddenly when they looked not for him, than he should otherwise distress them, assailing them with his whole army, in giving them leisure to provide further for him: he commanded his captains and lieutenants to go before, without any other armour than their swords, to take the city of Ariminum (a great city of Gaul, being the first city men come to, when they come out of Gaul) with as little bloodshed and tumult as they could possible. Then, committing that force and army he had with him unto Hortensius, one of his friends, he remained a whole day together, openly in the sight of every man, to see the sword-players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and, bathing his body a little, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made merry a while with them whom he had bidden to supper. Then, when it was well forward night, and very dark, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no man to stir, for he would straight come to them again: howbeit he had secretly before commanded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him; not altogether, but some one way, and some another way. He himself in the mean time took a coach he had hired, and made as though he would have gone some other way at the first, but suddenly he turned back again towards the city of Ariminum.

When he was come unto the little river of Rubicon, which divided Gaul on this side the Alps from Italy, he stayed upon a sudden. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to think what an enterprise he took in hand: and his thoughts also fell out more doubtful, when he entered into consideration of the desperateness of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himself, and spake never a word, waving° sometime one way, sometime another way, and oftentimes changed his determination, contrary to himself. So did he talk much also with his

Cæsar's doubtful thoughts at the river of Rubicon.

friends he had with him, amongst whom was Asinius Pollio,° telling him what mischiefs the beginning of this passage over that river would breed in the world, and how much their posterity, and they that lived after them, would speak of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage all those perilous thoughts to come, and speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt dangerous and desperate enterprises: * "A man can be but once undone; come on," he passed over the river; and when he was come over, he ran with his coach and never stayed, so that before daylight he was within the city of Ariminum,° and took it.....

* The Greek useth this phrase of speech: Cast the die.

Cæsar took the city of Ariminum.

The city of Ariminum being taken, and the rumour thereof dispersed through all Italy even as if it had been open war both by sea and land, and as if all the laws of Rome, together with the extreme bounds and confines of the same, had been broken up: a man would have said, that not only the men and women for fear, as experience proved at other times, but whole cities themselves, leaving their habitations, fled from one place to another through all Italy. And Rome itself also was immediately filled with the flowing repair of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parts like droves of cattle, that there was neither officer nor magistrate that could any more command them by authority, neither by any persuasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that Rome had in manner destroyed itself for lack of rule and order. For in all places men were of contrary opinions, and there were dangerous stirs and tumults everywhere, because they that were glad of this trouble could keep in no certain place; but, running up and down the city, when they met with others in divers places that seemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a city) they flatly fell out

Rome in uproar with Cæsar's coming.

with them, and boldly threatened them with that that was to come. Pompey himself, who at that time was not a little amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill words some gave him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproved him, and said, that he had done wisely, and had said for his folly, because he had made Cæsar so great and strong against him and the commonwealth. And other again did blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace which Cæsar had offered him, suffering Lentulus the Consul to abuse him too much. On the other side, Phaonius spake unto him, and bade him stamp on the ground with his foot: for Pompey being one day in a bravery in the Senate, said openly: "Let no man take thought for preparation of war; for when he listed, with one stamp of his foot on the ground, he would fill all Italy with soldiers." This notwithstanding, Pompey at that time had a greater number of soldiers then° Cæsar: but they would never let him follow his own determination. For they brought him so many lies, and put so many examples of fear before him, as if Cæsar had been already at their heels, and had won all: so that in the end he yielded unto them, and gave place to their fury and madness, determining (seeing all things in such tumult and garboil°) that there was no way but to forsake the city; and thereupon commanded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tarry there, unless he loved tyranny more than his own liberty and the commonwealth. Thus the Consuls themselves, before they had done their common sacrifices accustomed° at their going out of the city, fled every man of them. So did likewise the most part of the senators, taking their own things in haste such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of them also that always loved Cæsar, whose wits were then so troubled and besides themselves with the fear they had conceived, that they also fled, and

Pompey flieth from Rome.

followed the stream of this tumult, without manifest cause o necessity. But above all things it was a lamentable sight t see the city itself, that in this fear and trouble was left at a adventure, as a ship tossed in storm of sea, forsaken of he pilots and despairing of her safety. This their departur being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishmen (for the love they bear unto Pompey) to be their natura country, and reckoned Rome no better than Cæsar's camp At that time also Labienus, who was one of Cæsar's great est friends, and had been always used as his lieu tenant in the wars of Gaul, and had valiantl fought in his cause, he likewise forsook him then and fled unto Pompey. But Cæsar sent hi money and carriage° after him, and then went and encamped before the city of Corfinium,° the which Domitius° kept wit thirty cohorts or ensigns. When Domitius saw he wa besieged, he straight thought himself but undone; and despair ing of his success, he bade a physician, a slave of his, giv him poison. The physician gave him a drink, which he drank thinking to have died. But shortly after, Domitius hearing them report what clemency and wonderful courtesy Cæsar use unto them he took, repented him then that he had drunk thi drink, and began to lament and bewail his desperate resolution taken to die. The physician did comfort him again, and tol him that he had taken a drink only to make him sleep, but no to destroy him. Then Domitius rejoiced, and went straight and yielded himself unto Cæsar who gave him his life, but he notwithstanding stole away immediately and fled unto Pompey When these news were brought to Rome, they did mar vellously rejoice and comfort them that still remained there and moreover there were of them that had forsaken Rome which returned thither again. In the meantime Cæsar di put all Domitius' men in pay, and he did the like through

Labienus forsook Cæsar, and fled to Pompey.

Domitius escaped from Cæsar, and fled to Pompey.

ll the cities, where he had taken any captains that levied men
or Pompey.

Now Caesar, having assembled a great and dreadful power
ogether, went straight where he thought to find Pompey him-
elf. But Pompey tarried not his coming, but fled
nto the city of Brundusium°; from whence he
ad sent the two Consuls before, with that army
e had, unto Dyrrachium: and he himself also
vent thither afterwards, when he understood that Caesar was
ome, as you shall hear more amply hereafter in his life.
Caesar lacked no good will to follow him, but, wanting ships to
ake the seas, he returned forthwith to Rome: so that in less
han threescore days he was lord of all Italy, without any
loodshed. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it
nuch quieter then he looked for, and many senators there also,
e courteously intreated them, and prayed them to send unto
Pompey to pacify all matters between them, upon reasonable
onditions. But no man did attempt it, either because they
eared Pompey, for that they had forsaken him, or else for
hat they thought Caesar meant not as he spake, but that they
were words of course° to colour° his purpose withal. And
when Metellus also, one of the tribunes, would not suffer him
o take any of the common treasure out of the temple of Saturn,
ut told him that it was against the law: "Tush," said he,
"time of war, and law, are two things. If this that I do,"
quoth he, "do offend thee, then get thee hence
for this time: for war cannot abide this frank and
bold speech. But when wars are done, and that
we are all quiet again, then thou shalt speak in the pulpit what
thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of favour, impairing so
much my right; for thou art mine, both thou, and all them
that have risen against me, and whom I have in my hands."
When he had spoken thus unto Metellus, he went to the
temple-door where the treasure lay, and, finding no keys there,

Pompey flieth into Epirus.

"Silent leges inter arma."

he caused smiths to be sent for, and made them break open the locks. Metellus thereupon began again to withstand him, and certain men that stood by praised him in his doing: but Cæsar at length, speaking bigly to him threatened him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him further more, "Young man," quoth he, "thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, than to do it." That word made Metellus quake for fear, that he got him away roundly and ever after that Cæsar had all at his commandment for the wars. From thence he went into Spain, to make war with Petreius° and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants: first to get their armies and provinces into his hands which they governed, that afterwards he might follow Pompey the better leaving never an enemy behind him. In this journey he was oftentimes himself in danger through the ambushes that were laid for him in divers strange sorts and places, and likely also to have lost all his army for lack of victuals. All this notwithstanding, he never left° following of Pompey's lieutenants, provoking them to battle and intrenching them in, until he had gotten their camp and armies into his hands, albeit that the lieutenants themselves fled unto Pompey. When Cæsar returned again to Rome, Piso his father-in-law gave him counsel to send ambassadors unto Pompey, to treat for peace. But Isauricus, to flatter Cæsar, was against it.

Cæsar taketh money out of the temple of Saturn.

Cæsar's journey into Spain, against Pompey's lieutenants.

Cæsar being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home again all the banished men, and restored their children to honour, whose fathers before had been slain in Sylla's time: and did somewhat cut off the usuries that did oppress them; and besides, did make some such other ordinances as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleven days only, and then did yield it up of himself, and made himself Consul with Servilius

Cæsar Dictator.

Isauricus, and after that determined to follow the wars. All the rest of his army he left, coming on the way, behind him, and went himself before with six hundred horse, and five legions only of footmen, in the winter quarter, about the month of January, which after the Athenians is called Posideon. Then having passed over the sea Ionium,° and landed his men, he wan the cities of Oricum° and Apollonia.° Then he sent his ships back again unto Brundusium, to transport the rest of his soldiers that could not come with that speed he did. They, as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of body and lusty youth was decayed) being wearied with so many sundry battles as they had fought with their enemies, complained of Cæsar in this sort: — "To what end and purpose doth this man hale° us after him, up and down the world, using us like slaves and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies that bear the blows away: and what, shall we never be without our harness on our backs, and our shields on our arms? Should not Cæsar think, at the least when he seeth our blood and wounds, that we are all mortal men, and that we feel the misery and pains that other men do feel? And now, even in the dead of winter, he putteth us unto the mercy of the sea and tempest, yea, which the gods themselves cannot withstand, as if he fled before his enemies and pursued them not." Thus spending time with this talk, the soldiers, still marching on, by small journeys came at length unto the city of Brundusium. But when they were come, and found that Cæsar had already passed over the sea, then they straight changed their complaints and minds. For they blamed themselves, and took on° also with their captains, because they had not made them make more haste in marching: and sitting upon the rocks and cliffs of the sea, they looked over the main sea, towards the realm of Epirus, to see

Cæsar and Isauricus Consuls.

Cæsar goeth into the kingdom of Epirus.

Complaints of the old soldiers against Cæsar.

if they could discern the ships returning back to transport them over. Cæsar in the mean time, being in the city of Apollonia, having but a small army to fight with Pompey, it grieved him for that the rest of his army was so long a-coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a dangerous determination, to imbark unknown in a little pinnace of 12 oars only, to pass over the sea again unto Brundusium, the which he could not do without great danger, considering that all that sea was full of Pompey's ships and armies. So he took ship in the night, apparalled like a slave, and went aboard upon this little pinnace, and said never a word, as if he had been some poor man of mean condition. The pinnace lay in the mouth of the river of Anius,° the which commonly was wont to be very calm and quiet, by reason of a little wind that came from the shore, which every morning drave back the waves far into the main sea. But that night (by ill fortune) there came a great wind from the sea, that overcame the land-wind, insomuch as, the force and strength of the river fighting against the violence of the rage and waves of the sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous, the water of the river being driven back and rebounding upward, with great noise and danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the master of the pinnace, seeing that he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this river, bade the mariners to cast about again, and to return against the stream. Cæsar hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the master of the pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him; but Cæsar then taking him by the hand, said unto him, "Good fellow, be of good cheer, and forwards hardily: fear not, for thou hast Cæsar and his fortune with thee." Then the mariners, forgetting the danger of the storm they were in, laid on load° with oars, and laboured for life what they could against the wind, to get out of the mouth of this river. But at length, perceiving they laboured in vain

A great adventure of Cæsar.

Anius fl.

and that the pinnace took in abundance of water, and was ready to sink, Cæsar then, to his great grief, was driven to return back again: who when he was returned unto his camp, his soldiers came in great companies unto him, and were very sorry that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to overcome his enemies, but would put his person in danger to go fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the mean time Antonius arrived, and brought with him the rest of his army from Brundusium.

Then Cæsar, finding himself strong enough, went and offered Pompey battle, who was passingly° well lodged for victualling of his camp both by sea and land. Cæsar on the other side, who had no great plenty of victuals at the first, was in a very hard case: insomuch as his men gathered roots, and mingled them with milk, and eat them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also; and sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, and came along by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, and said that, as long as the earth brought forth such fruits, they would never leave besieging of Pompey. But Pompey straitly commanded them, that they should neither carry those words nor bread into their camp, fearing lest his men's hearts would fail them, and that they would be afraid when they should think of their enemies' hardness, with whom they had to fight, sith they were weary with no pains, no more than brute beasts. Cæsar's men did daily skirmish hard to the trenches of Pompey's camp, in the which Cæsar had ever the better, saving once only, at which time his men fled with such fear, that all his camp that day was in great hazard to have been cast away. For Pompey came on with his battle upon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driven into their camp, and their trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were

Cæsar's dangers and troubles in the realm of Epirus.

Cæsar's army fled from Pompey.

slain within the very gate and bulwarks of their camp, they were so valiantly pursued. Cæsar stood before them that fled to make them to turn head again, but he could not prevail. For when he would have taken the ensigns to have stayed them, the ensign-bearers threw them down on the ground: so that the enemies took two and thirty of them, and Cæsar's self also escaped hardly with life. For, striking a great big soldier that fled by him, commanding him to stay and turn his face to his enemy: the soldier, being afraid, lift up his sword to strike at Cæsar. But one of Cæsar's pages, preventing° him, gave him such a blow with his sword that he strake off his shoulder. Cæsar that day was brought unto so great extremity, that (if Pompey had not either for fear, or spiteful fortune, left off to follow his victory, and retired into his camp, being contented to have driven his enemies into their camp) returning to his camp with his friends, he said unto them: "The victory this day had been our enemies', if they had had a captain that could have told how to have overcome." So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more than any night that ever he had. For still his mind ran with great sorrow of the foul fault he had committed in leading of his army, of self-will to remain there so long by the sea-side, his enemies being the stronger by sea, considering that he had before him a goodly country, rich and plentiful of all things, and goodly cities of Macedon and Thessaly: and had not the wit to bring the war from thence but to lose his time in a place, where he was rather besieged of his enemies for lack of victuals than that he did besiege them by force of arms. Thus fretting and chafing to see himself straighted with° victuals, and to think of his ill luck, he raised his camp, intending to go set upon Scipio, making account that either he should draw Pompey to battle against his will, when he had not the sea at his back to furnish him with

Cæsar's words of Pompey's victory.

Cæsar troubled in mind after his loss.

enty of victuals ; or else that he should easily overcome Scipio, nding him alone, unless he were aided. This remove of æsar's camp did much encourage Pompey's army nd his captains, who would needs in any case ave followed after him, as though he had been ercome and had fled. But for Pompey him-

Pompey's determination for the war.

lf, he would in no respect hazard battle, which was a atter of so great importance. For finding himself so well ovided of all things necessary to tarry time, he thought it tter to draw this war out in length by tract° of time, the ther to consume this little strength that remained in Cæsar's my : of the which, the best men were marvellous well trained nd good soldiers, and for valiantness at one day's battle were comparable. But on the other side again, to remove here nd there so oft, and to fortify their camp when they came, nd to besiege any wall, or to keep watch all night in their mour : the most part of them could not do it, by reason of eir age, being then unable to away with their pains, so that e weakness of their bodies did also take away the life and urage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent sease among them, that came by ill meats hunger drave them eat. Yet was not this the worst : for besides, he had no ore of money, neither could tell how to come by victuals ; so at it seemed, in all likelihood, that in very short time he ould come to nothing. For these respects Pompey would in case fight, and yet had he but Cato only of his mind in that, ho stuck in it° the rather, because he would avoid shedding his countrymen's blood. For when Cato had viewed the ad bodies slain in the camp of his enemies at the last skirmish at was between them, the which were no less than a thou- nd persons, he covered his face, and went away weeping. l other but he, contrarily,° fell out with him, and blamed him cause he so long refrained from battle : and some prickt m forward, and called him Agamemnon, and king of kings,

saying that he delayed this war in this sort, because he woul not leave his authority to command them all, and that he wa glad always to see many captains round abou him, which came to his lodging to honour hi and wait upon him. And Faonius° also, a har brained fellow, frantickly counterfeiting the roun and plain speech of Cato, made as though he was marvellou angry, and said: "Is it not great pity, that we shall not ea this year of Tusculum figs, and all for Pompey's ambitiou mind to reign alone?" and Afranius,° who not long before wa but lately come out of Spain (where, because he had but i success, he was accused of treason, that for money he had sol his army unto Cæsar), he went busily asking, "why they fougl not with that merchant, unto whom they said he had sold th province of Spain?" So that Pompey, with these kinds o speeches, against his will was driven to follow Cæsar to figh with him. Then was Cæsar at the first marvellously perplexe and troubled by the way, because he found none that wou give him any victuals, being despised of every man for the late lo and overthrow he had received. But after he had taken th city of Gomphes in Thessaly, he did not only me with plenty of victuals to relieve his army wit but he strangely also did rid them of their diseas For the soldiers meeting with plenty of win drinking hard, and making merry, drave away the infection o the pestilence. For they disposed themselves unto dancin masking, and playing the Baccherians° by the way, insomuc that drinking drunk they overcame their disease, and ma their bodies new again.

Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.

The city of Gomphes in Thessaly.

When they both came into the country of Pharsalia, an both camps lay before each other, Pompey returned again his former determination, and the rather, because he had signs and tokens of misfortune in his sleep. For he thoug in his sleep that, when he entered into the theatre, all t

Romans received him with great clapping of hands. Whereupon they that were about him grew to such boldness and security, assuring themselves of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio in a bravery° contended between themselves for the chief bishopric which Cæsar had. Furthermore, there were divers that sent unto Rome to hire the nearest houses unto the market-place, as being the fittest places for Prætors and Consuls: making their account already, that those officers could not scape them, incontinently after the wars. But besides those, the young gentlemen and Roman knights were marvellous desirous to fight, that were bravely mounted, and armed with glistering gilt armours, their horses fat and very finely kept, and themselves goodly young men, to the number of seven thousand, where the gentlemen of Cæsar's side were but one thousand only. The number of his footmen° also were much after the same reckoning. For he had five and forty thousand against two and twenty thousand. Wherefore Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them how Cornificius was at hand who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteen ensigns led by Calenus, the which he made to stay about Megara and Athens. Then he asked them, if they would tarry for that aid or not, or whether they would rather themselves alone venture battle. The soldiers cried out to him, and prayed him not to defer battle, but rather to devise some fetch° to make the enemy fight as soon as he could. Then as he sacrificed unto the gods, for the purifying of his army, the first beast was no sooner sacrificed but his soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three days. Cæsar asked him again, if he saw in the sacrifices any lucky sign or token of good luck. The soothsayer answered: "For that, thou shalt answer thyself better than I can do: for the gods do promise us a marvellous great change and alteration of things that are

Pompey's dream in Pharsalia.

The security of the Pompeians.

Pompey's army as great again as Cæsar's.

now, unto another clean contrary. For if thou beest well now, dost thou think to have worse fortune hereafter? and if thou be ill, assure thyself thou shalt have better." The night before the battle, as he went about midnight to visit the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element,° all of a light fire, that came over Cæsar's camp, and fell down in Pompey's. In the morning also, when they relieved the watch, they heard a false alarm in the enemies' camp, without any apparent cause: which they commonly call a sudden fear, that makes men besides themselves. This notwithstanding, Cæsar thought not to fight that day, but was determined to have raised his camp from thence, and to have gone towards the city of Scotusa: and his tents in his camp were already overthrown,° when his scouts came in with great speed, to bring him news that his enemies were preparing themselves to fight. Then was he very glad, and after he had made his prayers unto the gods to help him that day, he set his men in battle ray, and divided them into three squadrons, giving the middle battle° unto Domitius Calvinus, and the left wing unto Antonius, and placed himself in the right wing, choosing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But seeing that against that his enemies had set all their horsemen, he was half afraid when he saw the great number of them, and so brave besides. Wherefore he closely° made six ensigns to come from the rereward of his battle, whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right wing, having first appointed his soldiers what they should do when the horsemen of the enemies came to give their charge. On the other side Pompey placed himself in the right wing of his battle, gave the left wing unto Domitius, and the middle battle unto Scipio his father-in-law. Now all the Roman knights (as we have told you before) were placed in the left wing, of pur-

A wonder seen in the element before the battle of Pharsalia.

Cæsar's army and his order of battle, in the fields of Pharsalia.

Pompey's army and his order of battle.

pose to environ Cæsar's right wing behind, and to give their hottest charge there, where the general of their enemies was: making their account, that there was no squadron of footmen, how thick soever they were, that could receive the charge of so great a troop of horsemen, and that at the first onset they should overthrow them all, and march upon their bellies. When the trumpets on either side did sound the alarm to the battle, Pompey commanded his footmen that they should stand still without stirring, to receive the charge of their enemies, until they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore Cæsar afterwards said, that Pompey had committed a foul fault, not to consider that the charge which is given running with fury, besides that it giveth the more strength also unto their blows, doth set men's hearts also on fire: for the common hurling° of all the soldiers that run together, is unto them as a box on the ear that sets men on fire. Then Cæsar, making his battle march forward to give the onset, saw one of his captains (a valiant man, and very skilful in war, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his soldiers that he had under his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his name, and said unto him: "Well, Caius Crassinius, what hope shall we have to-day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully?" Then Crassinius, casting up his hand, answered him aloud: "This day, O Cæsar, we shall have a noble victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt praise me alive or dead." When he had told him so, he was himself the foremost man that gave charge upon his enemies, with his band following of him, being about six score men; and making a lane through the foremost ranks with great slaughter, he entered far into the battle of his enemies, until that, valiantly fighting in this sort, he was thrust in at length into the mouth with a sword, that the point of it came out again at his neck. Now the footmen of both battles being come to

An ill counsel and foul fault of Pompey.

the sword, the horsemen of the left wing of Pompey did marc as fiercely also, spreading out their troops, to compass in th right wing of Cæsar's battle. But before the began to give charge, the six ensigns of footme which Cæsar had laid in ambush behind him, the began to run full upon them, not throwing awa their darts far off, as they were wont to do, neither striking the enemies on the thighs nor on the legs, but to seek to hit them fu in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as Cæsar had taugh them. For he hoped that these lusty young ge tlemen that had not been often in the wars n were used to see themselves hurt, and the whic being in the prime of their youth and beauty, would be afra of those hurts, as well for the fear of the present danger to b slain, as also for that their faces should not for ever be deforme As indeed it came to pass, for they could never abide that the should come so near their faces with the points of their dart but hung down their heads for fear to be hit with them in the eyes, and turned their backs, covering their face because the should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselves,° they bega at length cowardly to fly, and were occasion also of the loss all the rest of Pompey's army. For they that had broken the ran immediately to set upon the squadron of the footmen b hind, and slew them. Then Pompey, seeing his horseme from the other wing of his battle, so scattered and disperse flying away, forgat that he was any more Pompe the Great, which he had been before, but w rather like a man whose wits the gods had take from him, being afraid and amazed with t slaughter sent from above, and so retired into his tent, spea ing never a word, and sat there to see the end of this battl until at the length all his army being overthrown and put flight, the enemies came, and got up upon the rampiers a defence of his camp, and fought hand to hand with them th

The battle in the fields of Pharsalia.

Cæsar's stratagem.

Cæsar overcometh Pompey.

stood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himself again, he spake but this only word: "What, even into our camp?" So in haste, casting off his coat-armour and apparel of a general, he shifted him,° and put on such as became his miserable fortune, and so stole out of his camp. Furthermore, what he did after this overthrow, and how he had put himself into the hands of the Egyptians, by whom he was miserably slain, we have set it forth at large in his life. Then Cæsar, entering into Pompey's camp, and seeing the bodies laid on the ground that were slain, and others also that were a-killing, said, fetching a great sigh: 'It was their own doing, and against my will. For Caius Cæsar, after he had won so many famous conquests, and overcome so many great battles, had been utterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his army." Asinius Pollio writeth, that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek; and saith furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the sword in the camp were slaves and bondmen, and that there were not slain in all this battle above six thousand soldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, Cæsar did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom Brutus° was one, that afterwards slew Cæsar himself: and it is reported that Cæsar was very sorry for him, when he could not immediately be found after the battle, and that he rejoiced again when he knew he was alive, and that he came to yield himself unto him. Cæsar had many signs and tokens of victory before this battle, but the notablest of all other that happened to him, was in the city of Tralles.° For in the temple of Victory, within the same city, there was an image of Cæsar, and the earth all about it very hard of itself, and was paved besides with hard stone: and yet some say

Pompey's flight.

Brutus that slew Cæsar taken prisoner at the battle of Pharsalia.

Signs and tokens of Cæsar's victory.

that there sprang up a palm hard by the base of the same ima
In the city of Padua, Caius Cornelius, an excellent soothsa
(a countryman and friend of Titus Livius° the h
toriographer), was by chance at that time set
behold the flying of birds. He (as Livy reporte
knew the very time when the battle began, and t
them that were present, "Even now they give t
onset on both sides, and both armies do meet at this instan
Then sitting down again, to consider of the birds, after he h
bethought him of the signs, he suddenly rose up on his feet, a
cried out as a man possessed with some spirit: "O Cæsar, t
victory is thine." Every man wondering to see him, he to
the crown he had on his head, and made an oath that he wou
never put it on again, till the event of his prediction had prov
his art true. Livy testifieth that it came so to pass. Cæs
afterwards giving freedom unto the Thessalians, in respect
the victory which he wan in their country, he followed aft
Pompey. When he came into Asia, he gave freedom also unt
the Guidians° for Theopompus'° sake, who had gathered th
fables together. He did release Asia also the third part of th
tribute which the inhabitants paid unto the Romans. Then h
came into Alexandria° after Pompey was slain: and detest
Theodotus that presented him Pompey's head, and turned hi
head aside because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, h
took his seal, and beholding it, wept. Further
more, he courteously used all Pompey's friend
and familiars, who wandering up and down th
country, were taken of the king of Egypt, an
wan them all to be at his commandment. Continuing thes
courtesies, he wrote unto his friends at Rome, that the greates
pleasure he took of his victory was, that he daily saved th
lives of some of his countrymen that bare arms against him.

A strange tale of Cornelius an excellent prognosticator.

Cæsar's clemency in victory.

And for the war he made in Alexandria some say he neede
not to have done it, but that he willingly did it for th

ove of Cleopatra: wherein he wan little honour, and besides lid put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault ıpon the king of Egypt's ministers, but specially ın Pothinus the eunuch, who bearing the greatest sway of all the king's servants, after he had caused Pompey to be slain, and driven Cleopatra from the court, secretly laid wait all the ways he could, how he might likewise kill Cæsar. Wherefore Cæsar, hearing an inkling of it, began thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting and banqueting, that his person might be in the better safety. But besides all this, Pothinus the eunuch spake many things openly, not to be borne, only to shame Cæsar, and to stir up the people to envy him. For he made his soldiers have the worst and oldest wheat that could be gotten: then, if they did complain of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they eat at another man's cost. And he would serve them also at the table in treen° and earthen dishes, saying, 'that Cæsar had away all their gold and silver, for a debt that the king's father (that then reigned) did owe unto him:' which was a thousand seven hundred and fifty myriads, whereof Cæsar had before forgiven seven hundred and fifty thousand unto his children. Howbeit then he asked a million to pay his soldiers withal. Thereto Pothinus answered him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwards that he should at more leisure recover his debt, with the king's good will and favour. Cæsar replied unto him, and said, that he would not ask counsel of the Egyptians for his affairs, but would be paid: and thereupon secretly sent for Cleopatra, which was in the country, to come unto him. She, only taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friends, took a little boat, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foot of the castle. Then having no other mean° to come into the court without

The cause of Cæsar's war in Alexandria.

Pothinus the eunuch caused Pompey to be slain.

Cleopatra came to Cæsar.

being known, she laid herself down upon a mattress
flockbed, which Apollodorus her friend tied and bound
together like a bundle with a great leather thon
and so took her upon his back and brought h
thus hampered in this fardle" unto Cæsar in at t
castle gate. This was the first occasion (as it
reported) that made Cæsar to love her: but aft
wards, when he saw her sweet conversation" a
pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further l
ing with her, and did reconcile her again unto h
brother the king, with condition that they two jointly shou
reign together. Upon this new reconciliation, a great feast bei
prepared, a slave of Cæsar's that was his barber, the fearfull
wretch that lived, still busily prying and listening abroad in eve
corner, being mistrustful by nature, found that Pothinus a
Achillas did lie in wait to kill his master Cæsar. This bei
proved unto Cæsar, he did set such sure watch about the hall, whe
the feast was made, that in fine he slew the eunuch Pothinus hi
self. Achillas on the other side saved himself, and fled unto t
king's camp, where he raised a marvellous dangerous and difficu
war for Cæsar: because he, having then but a few men abo
him, was to fight against a great and strong city. The first da
ger he fell into was the want of water: for that his enemies h
stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conveyed the wat
into the castle. The second danger he had was, that seei
his enemies came to take his ships from him, he was drive
to repulse that danger with fire, the which burnt the arsen
where the ships lay, and that notable library
Alexandria withal. The third danger was in t
battle by sea, that was fought by the tower
Pharo: where meaning to help his men that foug
by sea, he leapt from the pier into a boat. Then the Egyptia
made towards him with their oars on every side: but he, lea
ing into the sea, with great hazard saved himself by swi

Cleopatra trussed up in a mattress, and so brought to Cæsar, upon Apollodorus' back.

The great library of Alexandria burnt.

ming. It is said, that then, holding divers books in his hand, he did never let them go, but kept them always upon his head above water, and swam with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot marvellously at him, and was driven sometime to duck into the water: howbeit the boat was drowned presently. In fine, the king coming to his men that made war with Cæsar, he went against him and gave him battle, and wan it with great slaughter and effusion of blood. But for the king, no man could ever tell what became of him after. Thereupon Cæsar made Cleopatra his° sister, queen of Egypt, who, being great with child by him, was shortly brought to bed of a son, whom the Alexandrians named Cæsarion.

Cæsar's swimming with books in his hand.

Cæsar made Cleopatra queen of Egypt.

Cæsarion, Cæsar's son, begotten of Cleopatra.

From thence he went into Syria, and so going into Asia, there it was told him that Domitius was overthrown in battle by Pharnaces, the son of king Mithridates,° and was fled out of the realm of Pont° with a few men with him: and that this king Pharnaces, greedily following his victory, was not contented with the winning of Bithynia and Cappadocia,° but further would needs attempt to win Armenia the less,° procuring° all those kings, princes, and governors of the provinces thereabouts to rebel against the Romans. Thereupon Cæsar went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battle with king Pharnaces by the city of Zela,° where he slew his army, and drave him out of all the realm of Pont. And because he would advertise one of his friends of the suddenness of this victory, he only wrote three words unto Anitius at Rome: "Veni, vidi, vici:" to wit, "I came, I saw, I overcame." These three words, ending all with like sound and letter in the Latin, have a certain short grace more pleasant to the ear than can be well expressed

Cæsar's victory of king Pharnaces.

Cæsar writeth three words to certify his victory.

in any other tongue. After this he returned again into Ita and came to Rome, ending his year for the which he was ma dictator the second time, which office before was never grant for one whole year, but unto him. Then was he chosen cons for the year following. Afterwards he was very ill spoken for that his soldiers in a mutiny having slain two Prætors, Co cónius and Galba, he gave them no other punishment for it, b instead of calling them soldiers he named them citizens, a gave unto every one of them a thousand drachmas a man, a great possessions in Italy. He was much misliked also for t desperate parts° and madness of Dolabella, for the covetou ness of Anitius, for the drunkenness of Antonius and Corni cius; which° made Pompey's house be pulled down and build up again, as a thing not big enough for him, wherewith t Romans were marvellously offended. Cæsar knew all this we enough, and would have been contented to have redressed them but to bring his matters to pass, he pretended he was driven serve his turn by such instruments.

After the battle of Pharsalia, Cato and Scipio being fled in Africa, king Juba° joined with them, and levied a great pu sant army. Wherefore Cæsar determined to mak war with them: and, in the middest of winte he took his journey into Sicily. There, becau he would take all hope from his captains a soldiers to make any long abode there, he we and lodged upon the very sands by the seaside, and with t next gale of wind that came, he took the sea with three tho sand footmen and a few horsemen. Then having put them land,° unawares to them he hoised° sail again to fetch the re of his army, being afraid lest they should meet with so danger in passing over; and meeting them midway, he brough them all into his camp. Where, when it was told him that h enemies trusted in an ancient oracle, which said, that it was pr destined unto the family of the Scipios to be conquerors in Afric

Cæsar's journey into Africa, against Cato and Scipio.

either of purpose to mock Scipio, the general of his enemies, or otherwise,° in good earnest, to take the benefit of this name (given by the oracle) unto himself, in all the skirmishes and battles fought, he gave the charge of his army unto a man of mean quality and account, called Scipio Salutius, who came of the race of Scipio African;° and made him always general when he fought. For he was eftsoons° compelled to weary and harry his enemies, for that neither his men in his camp had corn enough, nor the beasts forage, but the soldiers were driven to take sea-weeds, call *Alga:* and (washing away the brackishness thereof with fresh water, putting to it a little herb called dog's-tooth) to cast it so to their horse to eat. For the Numidians (which are light horsemen, and very ready of service) being a great number together, would be on a sudden in every place, and spread all the fields over thereabout, so that no man durst peep out of the camp to go for forage. And one day, as the men of arms were staying to behold an African doing notable things in dancing and playing with the flute (they being set down quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, having in the meantime given their slaves their horses to hold) the enemies stealing suddenly upon them, compassed them in round about, and slew a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also that fled, followed them pellmell into their camp. Furthermore, had not Cæsar himself in person, and Asinius Pollio with him, gone out of the camp to the rescue and stayed them that fled, the war that day had been ended. There was also another skirmish where his enemies had the upper hand, in the which it is reported that Cæsar, taking the ensign-bearer by the collar that carried the eagle in his hand, stayed him by force, and turning his face, told him: "See, there be thy enemies." These advantages did lift up Scipio's heart aloft, and gave him courage to hazard battle: and

Cæsar's troubles in Africa.

Alga and dog's-tooth given to the horse to eat.

Cæsar's dangers in Africa.

leaving Afranius on the one hand of him, and king Juba o
the other hand, both their camps lying near together, he di
fortify himself by the city of Thapsacus,° above the lake, to h
a safe refuge for them all in this battle. But whilst he wa
busy intrenching of himself, Cæsar, having marvellous speedil
passed through a great country full of wood by by-paths whic
men would never have mistrusted: he stole upon some behind
and suddenly assailed the other before, so that he overthre
them all, and made them fly. Then following the first goo
hap he had, he went forthwith to set upon the camp of Afra
nius, the which he took at the first onset, and the camp of th
Numidians also, king Juba being fled. Thus in
little piece of the day only, he took three camp
and slew fifty thousand of his enemies, and los
but fifty of his soldiers. In this sort is set dow
the effect of this battle by some writers. Yet others do writ
also, that Cæsar self was not there in person at the execution o
this battle. For as he did set his men in battle ra
the falling sickness took him, whereunto he wa
given; and therefore feeling it coming, before h
was overcome withal, he was carried into a cast
not far from thence where the battle was fought, and the
took his rest till the extremity of his disease had left him. No
for the Prætor and Consuls that scaped from this battl
many of them being taken prisoners did kill themselves, an
others also Cæsar did put to death: but he being speciall
desirous of all men else to have Cato alive in his hands, l
went with all possible speed unto the city of Utica,° where
Cato was governor, by means whereof he was not at the battl
Notwithstanding being certified by the way that Cato had slai
himself with his own hands, he then made open show that h
was very sorry for it, but why or wherefore, n
man could tell. But this is true, that Cæsar sai
at that present time; "O Cato, I envy thy death

Cæsar's great victory and small loss.

Cæsar troubled with the falling sickness.

Cæsar was sorry for the death of Cato.

because thou didst envy my glory to save thy life." This notwithstanding, the book that he wrote afterwards against Cato, being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitiful heart towards him. For how could he have pardoned him, if living he had had him in his hands, that being dead did speak so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would have pardoned him, if he had taken him alive, by the clemency he shewed unto Cicero, Brutus, and divers others that had borne arms against him. Some report that he wrote that book, not so much for any private malice he had to his death, as for civil ambition, upon this occasion. Cicero had written a book in praise of Cato, which he entitled 'Cato.' This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the orator that made it, and of the excellent subject thereof. Cæsar therewith was marvellously offended, thinking that to praise him of whose death he was author was even so much as to accuse himself: and therefore he wrote a letter against him, and heaped up a number of accusations against Cato, and entitled the book 'Anticaton.' Both these books have favourers unto this day, some defending the one for the love they bear to Cæsar, and others allowing° the other for Cato's sake.

Cæsar wrote against Cato, being dead.

Cicero wrote a book in praise of Cato being dead.

Cæsar, being now returned out of Africa, first of all made an oration to the people wherein he greatly praised and commended this his last victory, declaring unto them that he had conquered so many countries unto the empire of Rome, that he could furnish the commonwealth yearly with two hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and twenty hundred thousand pound weight of oil. Then he made three triumphs, the one for Egypt, the other for the kingdom of Pont, and the third for Africa: not because he had overcome Scipio there, but king Juba. Whose son being likewise called Juba, being then a young boy, was led captive in the show of this triumph.

But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him: f
where he was but a barbarous Numidian, by the study he
unto when he was prisoner, he came afterwa
to be reckoned one of the wisest historiograph
of the Grecians. After these three triumphs end
he very liberally rewarded his soldiers: and
curry favour with the people, he made great fea
and common sports. For he feasted all the Roma
at one time, at two and twenty thousand tabl
and gave them the pleasure to see divers sword-players to fight
the sharp,° and battles also by sea, for the remembrance of
daughter Julia, which was dead long befo
Then after all these sports, he made the peop
(as the manner was) to be mustered: and whe
there were, at the last musters before, three hu
dred and twenty thousand citizens, at this muster there we
only but a hundred and fifty thousand. Such misery a
destruction had this civil war brought unto the commonweal
of Rome, and had consumed such a number of Romans, n
speaking at all of the mischiefs and calamities it had broug
unto all the rest of Italy, and to the other provinces pertaini
to Rome.

Juba, the son of king Juba, a famous historiographer.

Cæsar's feasting of the Romans.

The muster taken of the Romans.

After all these things were ended, he was chosen Consul t
fourth time, and went into Spain to make war with the so
of Pompey: who were yet but very young, but h
notwithstanding raised a marvellous great arm
together, and shewed they had manhood and cou
age worthy to command such an army, insomu
as they put Cæsar himself in great danger of l
life. The greatest battle that was fought betwe
them in all this war, was by the city of Munda
For then Cæsar, seeing his men sorely distresse
and having their hands full of their enemies, he r
into the prease° among his men that fought, a

Cæsar Consul the fourth time.

Battle fought betwixt Cæsar and the young Pompeys, by the city of Munda.

ried out unto them: "What, are ye not ashamed to be beaten nd taken prisoners, yielding yourselves with your own hands o these young boys?" And so, with all the force he could make, having with much ado put his enemies to flight, he slew above thirty thousand of them in the field, and lost of his own men a thousand of the best he had. After this battle he went into his tent and told his friends, that he had often before fought for victory, but, this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his own life. He wan this battle on the very feast day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say that Pompey the Great went out of Rome, about four years before, to begin this civil war. For his sons, the younger escaped from the battle; but, within few days after, Didius brought the head of the elder. This was the last war that Cæsar made. But the triumph he made into Rome for the same did as much offend the Romans, and more, than any thing that ever he had done before: because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man of Rome, whom fortune had overthrown. And because he had plucked up his race by the roots, men did not think it meet for him to triumph so for the calamities of his country, rejoicing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to allege in his defence unto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had never before sent letters nor messengers unto the commonwealth at Rome, for any victory that he had ever won in all the civil wars: but did always for shame refuse the glory of it.

Cæsar's victory of the sons of Pompey.

Cæsar's triumph of Pompey's sons.

This notwithstanding, the Romans, inclining to Cæsar's prosperity and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good mean for them to take breath a little, after so many troubles and mis-

eries as they had abidden° in these civil wars, they chose h perpetual Dictator. This was a plain tyranny: for to t absolute power of Dictator, they added this, ne to be afraid to be deposed. Cicero pronoun before the Senate, that they should give him su honours as were meet for a man: howbeit oth afterwards added too honours beyond all reason. For men str ing who should most honour him, they made him hateful a troublesome to themselves that most favoured him, by reas of the unmeasurable greatness and honours which they ga him. Thereupon it is reported, that even they that most ha him were no less favourers and furtherers of his honours th they that most flattered him, because they might have grea occasions to rise,° and that it might appear they had ju cause and colour to attempt that they did against him. A now for himself, after he had ended his civil wars, he did honourably behave himself, that there was no fault to be fou in him: and therefore methinks, amongst other honours th gave him, he rightly deserved this, that th should build him a temple of Clemency, to tha him for his courtesy he had used unto them his victory. For he pardoned many of them th had borne arms against him, and furthermore, prefer some of them to honour and office in t commonwealth: as, amongst others, Cassius a Brutus, both the which were made Prætors. An where Pompey's images had been thrown down, caused them to be set up again: whereupon Cicero said then, th Cæsar setting up Pompey's images again, he made his own stand the surer. And when some of his friends did coun him to have a guard for the safety of his person, and so also did offer themselves to serve him, he wou never consent to it, but said: "It was better die once, than always to be afraid of death." F

Cæsar Dictator perpetual.

The temple of Clemency dedicated unto Cæsar, for his courtesy.

Cassius and Brutus Prætors.

Cæsar's saying of death.

to win himself the love and goodwill of the people, as the honourablest guard and best safety he could have, he made common feasts again and general distributions of corn. Furthermore, to gratify the soldiers also, he replenished many cities again with inhabitants, which before had been destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repair unto: of the which the noblest and chiefest cities were these two, Carthage and Corinth: and it chanced also, that like as aforetime they had been both taken and destroyed together, even so were they both set on foot again, and replenished with people, at one self° time. And as for great personages, he wan them also, promising some of them to make them Praetors and Consuls in time to come; and unto others honours and preferments: but to all men generally good hope, seeking all the ways he could to make every man contented with his reign. Insomuch as one of his Consuls called Maximus, chancing to die a day before his consulship ended, he declared Caninius Rebilius Consul only for the day that remained. So, divers going to his house (as the manner was) to salute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer, Cicero pleasantly said: "Come, let us make haste, and be gone thither before his consulship come out.°" Furthermore, Caesar being born to attempt all great enterprises, and having an ambitious desire besides to covet great honours, the prosperous good success he had of his former conquests bred no desire in him quietly to enjoy the fruits of his labours; but rather gave him the hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him thoughts of greater enterprises and desire of new glory, as if that which he had present were stale and nothing worth. This humour of his was no other but an emulation with himself as with another man, and a certain contention to overcome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made

Goodwill of subjects, the best guard and safety for princes.

Caninius Rebilius consul for one day.

preparation also, to make war with the Persians. Then, wh
he had overcome them, to pass through Hyrcania° (compassi
in the sea *Caspium*, and mount Caucasus) into the realm
Pontus, and so to invade Scythia°: and, overrunning all t
countries and people adjoining unto high Germany, and Gc
many itself, at length to return by Gaul into Italy, and so
enlarge the Roman empire round, that it might be every wa
compassed in with the great sea *Oceanum*. But whilst he wa
preparing for this voyage, he attempted to cut the bar of th
straight° of Peloponnesus, in the market-place where the city
Corinth standeth. Then he was minded to bring the rivers
Anienes and Tiber straight from Rome unto th
city of Circees,° with a deep channel and hig
banks cast up on either side, and so to fall int
the sea at Terracina, for the better safety and commodity
the merchants that came to Rome to traffic there. Furthe
more, he determined to drain and sew° all the water of th
marishes betwixt the cities of Nomentum° and Setium, t
make firm land, for the benefit of many thousands of people
and on the sea-coast next unto Rome, to cast great high bank
and to cleanse all the haven about Ostia° of rocks and ston
hidden under the water, and to take away all other imped
ments that made the harborough° dangerous for ships, and t
make new havens and arsenals meet to harbour such ships
did continually traffic thither. All these things were propose
to be done, but took no effect.

Anienes. Tiber flu.

But the ordinance° of the calendar, and reformation of th
year, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calc
lated by the mathematicians and brought to pe
fection, was a great commodity unto all men. Fo
the Romans, using then the ancient computatio
of the year, had not only such uncertainty an
alteration of the month and times, that the sacrifices and yearl
feasts came, by little and little, to seasons contrary for th

Cæsar reformed the inequality of the year.

purpose they were ordained: but also, in the revolution of the sun (which is called Annus Solaris) no other nation agreed with them in account: and, of the Romans themselves, only the priests understood it. And therefore when they listed,° they suddenly (no man being able to control them) did thrust in a month above their ordinary number, which they called in old time *Mercedonius.** Some say that Numa Pompilius° was the first that devised this way, to put a month between: but it was a weak remedy, and did little help the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the year, to frame° them to perfection. But Cæsar, committing this matter unto the philosophers and best expert mathematicians at that time, did set forth an excellent and perfect calendar, more exactly calculated than any other that was before: the which the Romans do use until this present day, and do nothing° err as others in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding, that envied his greatness, did not stick to find fault withal. As Cicero the orator, when one said, "to-morrow the star *Lyra* will rise:" "Yea," said he, "at the commandment of Cæsar;" as if men were compelled so to say and think by Cæsar's edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated was the covetous desire he had to be called king: which first gave the people just cause, and next his secret enemies honest colour to bear him ill-will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honour and dignity gave it out among the people that it was written in the Sibylline prophecies,° "how the Romans might overcome the Parthians, if they made war with them and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were unconquerable." And furthermore they were so bold besides, that, Cæsar returning to Rome from the city of Alba, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and Cæsar also angry, he said he was not

***Mercedonius mensis intercalaris.**

Why Cæsar was hated.

called king, but Caesar. Then every man keeping silence, went his way heavy and sorrowful. When they had decr divers honours for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Praet accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went u him in the market-place, where he was set by the pulpit orations, to tell him what honours they had decreed for him his absence. But he, sitting still in his majesty, disdaining rise up unto them when they came in, as if they had been p vate men, answered them: 'that his honours had more need be cut off than enlarged.' This did not only offend the Sen but the common people also, to see that he should so ligh esteem of the magistrates of the commonwealth: insomuch every man that might lawfully go his way departed thence v sorrowfully. Thereupon also Caesar rising departed home his house, and tearing open his doublet-collar, making his n bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, 'that his throat w ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it.' N withstanding it is reported, that afterwards, to excuse his fol he imputed it to his disease, saying, 'that their wits are n perfit° which have this disease of the falling evil, when stan ing on their feet they speak to the common people, but soon troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sudd dimness and giddiness.' But that was not true, for he wou have risen up to the Senate, but Cornelius Balbus one of friends (or rather a flatterer) would not let him, sayin "What, do you not remember that you are Caesar, and w you not let them reverence you and do their duties?"

Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also shame and reproach, abusing the tribunes of the people in t sort. At that time the feast *Lupercalia* was c brated, the which in old time men say was feast of shepherds or herdmen, and is much l unto the feast of the Lycaeans° in Arcadia.° But howsoe it is, that day there are divers noblemen's sons, young m

The feast Lupercalia.

(and some of them magistrates themselves that govern then), which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way with leather thongs, hair and all on, to make them give place. And many noblewomen and gentlewomen also go of purpose to stand in their way, and to put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholars hold them out to their schoolmaster to be stricken with the ferula": persuading themselves that, being with child, they shall have good delivery; and so, being barren, that it will make them to conceive with child. Cæsar sat to behold that sport upon the pulpit for orations, in a chain of gold, apparelled in triumphant manner. Antonius, who was Consul at that time, was one of them that ran this holy course. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to run at liberty, and he came to Cæsar, and presented him a diadem wreathed about with laurel. Whereupon there rose a certain cry of rejoicing, not very great, done only by a few appointed for the purpose. But when Cæsar refused the diadem, then all the people together made an outcry of joy. Then Antonius offering it him again, there was a second shout of joy, but yet of a few. But when Cæsar refused it again the second time, then all the whole people shouted. Cæsar having made this proof, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chair, and commanded the crown to be carried unto Jupiter in the Capitol. After that, there were set up images of Cæsar in the city, with diadems upon their heads like kings. Those the two tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down, and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted Cæsar as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them rejoicing at it, and called them Brutes, because of Brutus," who had in old time driven the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdom of one person unto the govern

Antonius, being Consul, was one of the Lupercalians.

Antonius presented the diadem to Cæsar.

ment of the Senate and people. Cæsar was so offended withal that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their tribuneships and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bruti and Cumani, to wit, beasts and fools.

Hereupon the people went straight unto Marcus Brutus, who from his father came of the first Brutus, and by his mother of the house of the Servilians, a noble house as any was in Rome and was also nephew and son-in-law of Marcus Cato. Notwithstanding, the great honours and favour Cæsar shewed unto him kept him back that of himself alone he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdom. For Cæsar did not only save his life after the battle of Pharsalia, when Pompey fled and did at his request also save many mo° of his friends besides: but furthermore, he put a marvellous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorship for that year, and furthermore was appointed to be Consul the fourth year after that, having through Cæsar's friendship obtained it before Cassius,° who likewise made suit for the same: and Cæsar also, as it is reported, said in this contention, "indeed Cassius hath alleged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before Brutus." Some one day accusing Brutus while he practised this conspiracy, Cæsar would not hear of it, but, clapping his hand on his body, told them, "Brutus will look for this skin;" meaning thereby, that Brutus for his virtue deserved to rule after him, but yet that, for ambition's sake he would not shew himself unthankful or dishonourable. Now they that desired change, and wished Brutus only their prince and governor above all other, they durst not come to him themselves to tell him what they would have him to do, but in the night did cast sundry papers into the Prætor's seat, where he gave audience, and the most of them to this effect: "Thou sleepest, Brutus, and art not Brutus indeed." Cassius, find

Cæsar saved Marcus Brutus' life, after the battle of Pharsalia.

Brutus conspireth against Cæsar.

ng Brutus' ambition stirred up the more by these seditious ills,° did prick him forward and egg him on the more, for private quarrel he had conceived against Cæsar: he circumstance whereof we have set down more t large in Brutus' life. Cæsar also had Cassius great jealousy, and suspected him much: where- pon he said on a time to his friends, "what ill Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks." Another ime when Cæsar's friends complained unto him of Antonius nd Dolabella, that they pretended° some mischief towards him: e answered them again, "As for those fat men and smooth- ombed heads," quoth he, "I never reckon of them; but these ale-visaged and carrion-lean people, I fear them most," mean- ng Brutus and Cassius.

Cassius stirreth up Brutus against Cæsar.

Certainly destiny may easier be foreseen than avoided, con- dering the strange and wonderful signs that were said to be en before Cæsar's death. For, touching the res in the element, and spirits running up and own in the night, and also the solitary birds to e seen at noondays sitting in the great market- lace, are not all these signs perhaps worth the oting, in such a wonderful chance as happened? But Strabo° he philosopher writeth, that divers men were seen going up nd down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of he soldiers that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his and, insomuch as they that saw it thought he had been burnt; it when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. æsar self also doing sacrifice unto the gods, found that one of e beasts which was sacrificed had no heart: and that was a range thing in nature, how a beast could live ithout a heart. Furthermore there was a certain othsayer that had given Cæsar warning long me afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of arch, (which is the fifteenth of the month), for

Predictions and foreshews of Cæsar's death.

Cæsar's day of his death prognosticated by a soothsayer.

on that day he should be in great danger. That day bein come, Cæsar going unto the Senate-house, and speaking merri unto the soothsayer, told him, "the Ides of March be come: "so they be," softly answered the soothsayer, "but yet a they not past." And the very day before, Cæsar, supping wit Marcus Lepidus,° sealed certain letters, as he was wont to d at the board: so, talk falling out amongst them, reasonin what death was best, he, preventing their opinions, cried ou aloud, "death unlooked for." Then going to bed the sam night, as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurni all the windows and doors of his chamber flying open, the noi awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light: bu more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, bein fast asleep, weep and sigh, and put forth man fumbling° lamentable speeches: for she dreame that Cæsar was sláin, and that she had him in h arms. Others also do deny that she had any such dream, a amongst other, Titus Livius writeth that it was in this sort the Senate having set upon the top of Cæsar's house, for a ornament and setting forth° of the same, a certain pinnacl Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken down, and that sh thought she lamented and wept for it. Insomuch that, Cæs rising in the morning, she prayed him, if it were possible, n to go out of the doors that day, but to adjourn the session the Senate until another day. And if that he made no recko ing of her dream, yet that he would search further of the soot sayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him th day. Thereby it seemed that Cæsar likewise did fear or susp somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia until that time was ne given to any fear and superstition: and that then he saw her troubled in mind with this dream she had. But much m afterwards, when the soothsayers having sacrificed many bea one after another, told him that none did like° them: then determined to send Antonius to adjourn the session of the Sena

The dream of Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife.

But in the mean time came Decius Brutus,° surnamed Albi-
us, in whom Cæsar put such confidence, that in his last will
nd testament he had appointed him to be his next
eir, and yet was of the conspiracy with Cassius
nd Brutus: he, fearing that if Cæsar did adjourn
ne session that day, the conspiracy would be be-
rayed, laughed at the soothsayers, and reproved Cæsar, saying,
that he gave the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and
nat they might think he mocked them, considering that by his
ommandment they were assembled, and that they were ready
illingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of
l his provinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, and that
e should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and
nd. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from
im they should° depart for that present time, and return again
hen Calpurnia should have better dreams, what would his
nemies and ill-willers say, and how could they like of° his
iends' words? And who could persuade them otherwise, but
nat they would think his dominion a slavery unto them and
rranical in himself? And yet if it be so," said he, "that you
tterly mislike° of this day, it is better that you go yourself in
erson, and, saluting the Senate, to dismiss them till another
me." Therewithal he took Cæsar by the hand,
nd brought him out of his house. Cæsar was
ot gone far from his house, but a bond-man, a
ranger, did what he could to speak with him:
nd when he saw he was put back by the great
ress and multitude of people that followed him,
e went straight into his house, and put himself into
alpurnia's hands, to be kept till Cæsar came back
gain, telling her that he had greater matters to im-
art unto him. And one Artemidorus also, born in the isle of
nidos, a doctor of rhetoric in the Greek tongue, who by means
his profession was very familiar with certain of Brutus' con-

Decius Brutus Albinus' persuasion to Cæsar.

Decius Brutus brought Cæsar into the Senate-house.

The tokens of conspiracy against Cæsar.

federates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices against Cæsar, came and brought him a little bill, written with his own hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He, marking how Cæsar received all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gave them straight to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and said: "Cæsar, read this memorial to yourself, and that quickly, for they be matters of great weight, and touch you nearly." Cæsar took it of him, but could never read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to himself, went on withal into the Senate-house. Howbeit others are of opinion, that it was some man else that gave him that memorial, and not Artemidorus, who did what he could all the way as he went to give it Cæsar, but he was always repulsed by the people. For these things they may seem to come by chance; but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre, all these were manifest proofs, that it was the ordinance of some god that made this treason to be executed, specially in the very place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did favour the doctrine of Epicurus)° beholding the image of Pompey, before they entered into the action of their traitorous enterprise, he did softly call upon it to aid him: but the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did suddenly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man half besides himself. Now Antonius, that was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a valiant man besides of his hands, him Decius Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate-house, having begun a long tale of set purpose. So Cæsar coming into the house, all the Senate stood up on their feet to do him honour. The

The place where Cæsar was slain.

Antonius, Cæsar's faithful friend.

art of Brutus' company and confederates stood round about
æsar's chair, and part of them also came towards him, as
hough they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his
rother again from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their
it, they followed Cæsar till he was set in his chair. Who
enying their petitions, and being offended with them one after
nother, because the more they were denied the more they
ressed upon him and were the earnester with him, Metellus at
ngth, taking his gown with both his hands, pulled it over his
ck, which was the sign given the confederates to set upon
m. Then Casca,° behind him, strake him in
e neck with his sword; howbeit the wound was
t great nor mortal, because it seemed the fear
such a devilish attempt did amaze him and take
s strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow.
ut Cæsar, turning straight unto him, caught hold of his sword
d held it hard; and they both cried out, Cæsar in Latin: "O
le traitor Casca, what doest thou?" and Casca, in Greek, to
s brother: "Brother, help me." At the beginning of this
ir, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracy,
ere so amazed with the horrible sight they saw, they had no
wer to fly, neither to help him, nor so much as once to make
outery. They on the other side that had conspired his death
mpassed him in on every side with their swords drawn in
eir hands, that Cæsar turned him no where but he was stricken
by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was
ckled and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of
nters. For it was agreed among them that every man should
ve him a wound, because all their parts should be in this mur-
er: and then Brutus himself gave him one wound about his
ivities. Men report also, that Cæsar did still defend himself
ainst the rest, running every way with his body: but when
saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled
s gown over his head, and made no more resistance, and was

Casca the first that struck at Cæsar.

driven either casually or purposedly, by the counsel of the co
spirators, against the base whereupon Pompey's image stoo
which ran all of a gore-blood till he was slain. Thus it seeme
that the image took just revenge of Pompey
enemy, being thrown down on the ground at h
feet, and yielding up the ghost there, for the nur
ber of wounds he had upon him. For it is r
ported, that he had three and twenty wounds upon his body
and divers of the conspirators did hurt themselves, striking o
body with so many blows.

Cæsar slain, and had 23 wounds upon him.

When Cæsar was slain, the Senate (though Brutus stood
the middest amongst them, as though he would have said som
thing touching this fact°) presently ran out of the house, a
flying, filled all the city with marvellous fear and tumult. I
somuch as some did shut to the doors, others forsook their sho
and warehouses, and others ran to the place to see what th
matter was: and others also that had seen it ran home to the
houses again. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two
Cæsar's chiefest friends, secretly conveying themselves awa
fled into other men's houses and forsook their own. Brut
and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with th
murther they had committed, having their swords drawn i
their hands, came all in a troup together out
the Senate and went into the market-place, not
men that made countenance to fly, but otherwis
boldly holding up their heads like men of courag
and called to the people to defend their liberty
and stayed to speak with every great personage whom they me
in their way. Of them, some followed this troup and wer
amongst them, as if they had been of the conspiracy, an
falsely challenged° part of the honour with them: among
them was Caius° Octavius and Lentulus Spinther. But both
them were afterwards put to death for their vain covetousnes
of honour, by Antonius and Octavius Cæsar the younger; an

The murderers of Cæsar do go to the market-place.

et had no part of that honour for the which they were both
ut to death, neither did any man believe that they were any
f the confederates or of counsel with them. For they that did
ut them to death took revenge rather of the will they had to
ffend than of any fact they had committed. The next morn-
ng, Brutus and his confederates came into the market-place to
peak unto the people, who gave them such audience, that it
eemed they neither greatly reproved nor allowed the fact: for
y their great silence they shewed that they were sorry for
Cæsar's death, and also that they did reverence Brutus. Now
he Senate granted general pardon for all that was past; and, to
pacify every man, ordained besides, that Cæsar's funerals should
e honoured as a god, and established all things that
ie had done, and gave certain provinces also and
onvenient honours unto Brutus and his confeder-
tes, whereby every man thought all things were brought to good
peace and quietness again. But when they had opened Cæsar's
estament, and found a liberal legacy of money bequeathed unto
very citizen of Rome, and that they saw his body (which was
rought into the market-place) all bemangled with gashes of
words, then there was no order to keep the multitude and
ommon people quiet, but they plucked up forms, tables, and
tools, and laid them all about the body; and setting them afire,
urnt the corse. Then when the fire was well kindled, they
ook the fire-brands, and went unto their houses that had slain
Cæsar, to set them afire. Other also ran up and down the
ity to see if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in
ieces: howbeit they could meet with never a man of them,
ecause they had locked themselves up safely in
heir houses. There was one of Cæsar's friends
alled Cinna,° that had a marvellous strange and
errible dream the night before. He dreamed
hat Cæsar bad him to supper, and that he refused, and would
ot go: then that Cæsar took him by the hand, and led him

Cæsar's funerals.

Cinna's dream of Cæsar.

against his will. Now Cinna, hearing at that time that the burnt Cæsar's body in the market-place, notwithstanding tha he feared his dream, and had an ague on him besides, he wen into the market-place to honour his funerals. When he cam thither, one of the mean sort° asked him what his name was He was straight called by his name. The first man told it another, and that other unto another, so that it ran straigh through them all, that he was one of them that murthere Cæsar: (for indeed one of the traitors to Cæsar was also calle Cinna as himself) wherefore taking him for Cinna th murtherer, they fell upon him with such fury tha they presently dispatched him in the marke place. This stir and fury made Brutus an Cassius more afraid than of all that was past, and therefo within few days after they departed out of Rome: and touch ing their doings afterwards, and what calamity they suffere till their deaths, we have written it at large in the life o Brutus. Cæsar died at six and fifty years of ag and Pompey also lived not passing four yea more than he. So he reaped no other fruit of a his reign and dominion, which he had so vehement desired all his life and pursued with such extreme danger, b a vain name only and a superficial glory, that procured him th envy and hatred of his country.

The murder of Cinna.

Cæsar 56 years old at his death.

But his great prosperity and good fortune that favoured hi all his lifetime, did continue afterwards in the revenge of h death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea an land, till they had not left a man more to be ex cuted, of all them that were actors or counsello in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermor of all the chances that happen unto men up the earth, that which came to Cassius abo all other, is most to be wondered at: for he, bei overcome in battle at the journey of Philippes

The revenge of Cæsar's death.

Cassius being overthrown at the battle of Philippes slew himself

ew himself with the same sword with the which
e strake Cæsar. Again, of signs in the element,
e great comet, which seven nights together was
en very bright after Cæsar's death, the eighth
ght after was never seen more. Also the bright-
ss of the sun was darkened, the which all that
ar through rose very pale and shined not out,
nereby it gave but small heat: therefore the air
ing very cloudy and dark, by the weakness of the
t that could not come forth, did cause the
rth to bring forth but raw and unripe fruit,
nich rotted before it could ripe. But above all, the ghost that
peared unto Brutus shewed plainly, that the gods were
ended with the murther of Cæsar. The vision
s thus: Brutus being ready to pass over his
ny from the city of Abydos° to the other coast
ng directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was)
his tent; and being yet awake, thinking of his affairs (for
report he was as careful a captain and lived with as little
ep as ever man did) he thought he heard a noise at his
t-door, and looking towards the light of the lamp that
xed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a
nderful greatness and dreadful look, which at the first made
n marvellously afraid. But when he saw that
lid him no hurt, but stood by his bed-side and
l nothing; at length he asked him what he
s. The image answered him: "I am thy ill
el, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes."
n Brutus replied again, and said, "Well, I shall see thee
n." Therewithal the spirit presently vanished from him.
er that time Brutus, being in battle near unto the city of
lippes against Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, at the first
tle he wan the victory, and overthrowing all them that
hstood him, he drave them into young Cæsar's camp, which

with the self-same sword, wherewith he struck Cæsar.

Wonders seen in the elements after Cæsar's death.

A great comet.

Brutus' vision.

A spirit appeared unto Brutus.

he took. The second battle being at hand, this spirit a peared again unto him, but spake never a word. The upon Brutus, knowing that he should die, did p himself to all hazard in battle, but yet fighti could not be slain. So seeing his men put flight and overthrown, he ran unto a little r not far off, and there setting his sword's point to his breast, upon it and slew himself; but yet, as it is reported, with help of his friend that despatched him.

The second appearing of the spirit unto Brutus.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS BRUTUS

MARCUS BRUTUS came of that Junius Brutus,° for whom
e ancient Romans made his statue of brass to be set up in
e Capitol, with the images of the kings, holding
naked sword in his hand: because he had val-
ntly put down the Tarquins from the kingdom
Rome. But that Junius Brutus, being of a
ir stern nature not softened by reason, being like unto sword-
ades of too hard a temper, was so subject to his choler and
lice he bare unto the tyrants, that for their sakes he caused
s own sons to be executed. But this Marcus
utus in contrary manner, whose life we presently
ite, having framed his manners of life by the
es of virtue and study of philosophy, and having employed
wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great
ngs, me thinks he was rightly made and framed unto virtue.
that his very enemies which wish him most hurt, because
his conspiracy against Julius Cæsar, if there were any noble
empt done in all this conspiracy, they refer it wholly unto
utus; and all the cruel and violent acts unto Cassius, who
s Brutus' familiar friend, but not so well given° and con-
ioned as he. His mother Servilia, it is thought,
ne of the blood of Servilius Hala°; who, when
urius Melius went about to make himself king,
d, to bring it to pass, had enticed the common
ple to rebel, took a dagger and hid it close under his arm,

The parentage of Brutus.

Brutus' manners.

Servilia, M. Brutus' mother.

and went into the market-place. When he was come thith
he made as though he had somewhat to say unto him, a
pressed as near him as he could: wherefore Melius stoop
down with his head to hear what he would say, Servil
stabbed him in with his dagger and slew him. Thus much
writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, so
for the evil will and malice they bare unto Brutus, because
the death of Julius Cæsar, do maintain, that he came not
Junius Brutus that drave out the Tarquins: for there were n
left of his race, considering that his two sons were executed
conspiracy with the Tarquins; and that Marcus Brutus ca
of a mean house, the which was raised to honour and office
the common-wealth but of late time. Posidonius° the Ph
sopher writeth the contrary, that Junius Brutus indeed s
two of his sons which were men grown, as the histories
declare; howbeit that there was a third son, being but a li
child at that time, from whom the house and family afterwa
was derived: and furthermore, that there were in his ti
certain famous men of that family, whose stature and cou
nance resembled much the image of Junius Brutus. And t

Servilia, Cato's sister.

much for this matter. Marcus Cato° the phil
pher was brother unto Servilia, Marcus Bru
mother: whom Brutus studied most to follow
all the other Romans, because he was his uncle, and af
wards he married his daughter.

Now touching the Grecian philosophers, there was no
nor philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but al

Brutus' studies.

all the rest he loved Plato's° sect best, and did
much give himself to the new or mean Acad
(as they call it), but altogether to the old Acade

Brutus followed the old Academics.

Therefore he did ever greatly esteem the phil
pher Antiochus,° of the city of Ascalon: but
was more familiar with his brother Ariston, who for learn
and knowledge was inferior to many other philosophers,

or wisdom and courtesy equal with the best and chiefest. ouching Empylus, whom M. Brutus himself doth mention in is Epistles, and his friends also in many places, e was an orator, and left an excellent book he rote of the death of Julius Cæsar, and entitled "Brutus." He° was properly learned in the atin tongue, and was able to make long discourse it: beside that he could also plead very well Latin. But for the Greek tongue, they do note some of his epistles, that he counterfeited that rief compendious manner of speech of the Lacemonians.° As, when the war was begun, he rote unto the Pergamenians° in this sort: "I nderstand you have given Dolabella money: if you have done willingly, you confess you have offended me; if against your ills, shew it then by giving me willingly." Another time gain unto the Samians°: "Your councils be long, our doings be slow, consider the end." And in nother Epistle he wrote unto° the Patareians°: The Xanthians, despising my goodwill, have made heir country a grave of despair; and the Patareians, that put hemselves into my protection, have lost no jot of their liberty: nd therefore, whilst you have liberty, either choose the judgent of the Patareians, or the fortune of the Xanthians." These ere Brutus' manner of letters, which were honoured for their riefness.

Empylus, an orator, wrote a book of Cæsar's death, and entitled it Brutus.

Brutus' manner of writing his epistles in Greek.

A brief letter to the Samians.

So Brutus, being but a young stripling, went into Cyprus° ith his uncle Cato, who was sent against Ptolemy, king of gypt; who having slain himself, Cato, staying or certain necessary business he had in the ile of hodes, had already sent Caninius, one of his iends, before, to keep his treasure and goods. ut Cato, fearing he would be light-fingered, wrote unto Brutus rthwith to come out of Pamphilia° (where he was but newly

Brutus followed Cato into Cyprus.

recovered of a sickness) into Cyprus; the which he
The which journey he was sorry to take upon him, bot
respect of Caninius'* shame, whom Cato (
thought) wrongfully slandered, as also becau
thought this office too mean and unmeet for
being a young man, and given to his book. This notwiths
ing, he behaved himself so honestly and carefully, that Cat
greatly commend him: and after all the goods were sold an
'verted into ready money, he took the most part of it, and ret
withal to Rome. Afterwards, when the empire of Rom
divided into factions, and that Caesar and Pompey both
in arms one against the other, and that all the empire of
was in garboil and uproar: it was thought then that B
would take part with Caesar, because Pompey not long
had put his father to death. But Brutus, preferring the re
of his country and commonwealth before private affection
persuading himself that Pompey had juster
to enter into arms than Caesar, he then took
with Pompey; though oftentimes meeting hi
fore, he thought scorn to speak to him, thi
it a great sin and offence in him, to speak to the murther
his father. But then, submitting himself unto Pompey as
the head of the commonwealth, he sailed into Sicily, lieute
under Sestius that was governor of that province. But
he saw that there was no way to rise, nor to do any nob
ploits, and that Caesar and Pompey were both camped tog
and fought for victory: he went of himself, unsent for,
Macedon, to be partaker of the danger.
reported that Pompey, being glad, and wond
at his coming, when he saw him come to hi
rose out of his chair, and went and embracec
before them all, and used him as honorably as he could
done the noblest man that took his part. Brutus, bei
Pompey's camp, did nothing but study all day long, exce

* Or Canidius.

Brutus taketh part with Pompey.

Brutus studied in Pompey's camp.

ere with Pompey; and not only the days before, but the self-
me day also before the great battle was fought in the fields
Pharsalia, where Pompey was overcome. It was in the midst
summer, and the sun was very hot, besides that the camp
as lodged near unto marishes, and they that carried his tent
rried long before they came: whereupon, being very weary
ith travel, scant any meat came into his mouth at dinner-time.
urthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen
e morrow after, he fell to his book, and wrote all day long
l night, writing a breviary° of Polybius.°

It is reported that Cæsar did not forget him, and that he
ve his captains charge before the battle, that they should be-
are they killed not Brutus in fight; and if he
elded willingly unto them, that then they should
ing him unto him: but if he resisted and would
t be taken, then that they should let him go,
d do him no hurt. Some say he did this for Servilia's sake,
rutus' mother. For when he was a young man, he had been
quainted with Servilia, who was extremely in
ve with him. And because Brutus was born in
at time when their love was hottest, he per-
aded himself that he begat him. For proof
reof the report goeth, that when the weightiest
atters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracy of
atiline, which was likely to have undone the city of Rome,
esar and Cato sat near together, and were both of contrary
inds to each other: and then, that in the mean time one
elivered Cæsar a letter. Cæsar took it, and read it softly to
mself: but Cato cried out upon Cæsar, and said he did not
ell to receive advertisements from enemies: whereupon the
hole Senate began to murmur at it. Then Cæsar gave Cato
e letter as it was sent him, who read it, and found that it
as a love-letter sent from his sister Servilia: thereupon he
st it again to Cæsar, and said unto him; "Hold, drunken

Julius Cæsar careful of Brutus' safety.

Julius Cæsar loved Servilia, Brutus' mother.

sop." When he had done so, he went on with his tale, maintained his opinion as he did before: so commonly was love of Servilia known, which she bare unto Cæ

Brutus saved by Julius Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalia.

So, after Pompey's overthrow at the battle of Ph salia, and that he fled to the sea, when Cæsar ca to besiege his camp, Brutus went out of the ca gates unseen of any man, and leapt into a ma full of water and reeds. Then when night come, he crept out, and went unto the city of Larissa°: fr whence he wrote unto Cæsar, who was very glad that he scaped, and sent for him to come unto him. When Brutus come, he did not only pardon him, but also kept him alw about him, and did as much honour and esteem him as man he had in his company. Now no man could tell whit Pompey was fled, and all were marvellous desirous to know wherefore Cæsar walking a good way alone with Brutus, he ask him which way he thought Pompey took. Cæsar perc ing by his talk that Brutus guessed certainly whither Pom should be fled, he left all other ways, and took his jour directly towards Egypt. Pompey (as Brutus had conjectu was indeed fled into Egypt, but there he was villanously sl Furthermore, Brutus obtained pardon of Cæsar Cassius; and defending also the king * of Lybi cause, he was overlaid with a world of accusati against him; howbeit, intreating for him, he sa him the best part of his realm and kingdom. T say also that Cæsar said, when he heard Bru plead: "I know not," said he, "what this yo man would; but what he would, he willetl vehemently." For as Brutus' gravity and const mind would not grant all men their requests t sued unto him, but, being moved with reason discretion, did always incline to that which good and honest: even so, when it was move

*** This king was Juba: howbeit it is true also, that Brutus made intercession for Deiotarus king of Galatia: who was deprived notwithstanding of the most part of his country by**

)llow any matter, he used a kind of forcible and ehement persuasion, that calmed not till he had btained his desire. For by flattering of him a ian could never obtain any thing at his hands, or make him to do that which was unjust. 'urther, he thought it not meet for a man of alling and estimation, to yield unto the requests and entreaties f a shameless and importunate suitor, requesting things unmeet: he which notwithstanding some men do for shame, because they are deny nothing: and therefore he was wont to say, "That e thought them evil brought up in their youth, that could deny othing."

Cæsar; and therefore this place were best to be understood by Deiotarus.

Now when Cæsar took sea to go into Africa against Cato nd Scipio, he left Brutus governor of Gaul in Italy on this side f the Alps, which was a great good hap for hat province. For where others were spoiled and olled° by the insolency and covetousness of the overnors, as if it had been a country conquered, Brutus was a comfort and rest unto their former roubles and miseries they sustained. But he re- erred it wholly unto Cæsar's grace and goodness. For when Caesar returned out of Africa, and progressed up and down taly, the things that pleased him best to see were the cities nder Brutus' charge and government, and Brutus himself; vho honoured Cæsar in person, and whose company also Cæsar greatly esteemed. Now there were divers sorts of Prætorships n Rome, and it was looked for, that Brutus or Cassius would make suit for the chiefest Prætor- hip, which they called the Prætorship of the ity: because he that had that office was as a udge, to minister justice unto the citizens. There- ore they strove one against another: though some say, that here was some little grudge betwixt them for other matters efore, and that this contention did set them further out,

Cæsar made Brutus governor of Gaul on this side the mountains.

Brutus and Cassius contend for the Prætorship of the city.

though they were allied together: for Cassius had mar
Junia, Brutus' sister. Others say that this contention betw
them came by Cæsar himself, who secretly g
either of them both hope of his favour. So t
suit for the Prætorship was so followed and
boured of either party, that one of them
another into suit of law. Brutus with his virtue and g
name contended against many noble exploits in arms, wh
Cassius had done against the Parthians. So Cæsar after
had heard both their objections, told his friends, with whom
consulted about this matter: "Cassius' cause is the juster," s
he, "but Brutus must be first preferred." Thus Brutus had
first Prætorship, and Cassius the second: who thanked
Cæsar so much for the Prætorship he had, as he was an
with him for that he had lost. But Brutus in many ot
things tasted of the benefit of Cæsar's favour in any thing
requested. For if he had listed, he might have been on
Cæsar's chiefest friends, and of greatest authority and cr
about him. Howbeit, Cassius' friends did
suade him from it (for Cassius and he were
yet reconciled together sithence° their first cont
tion and strife for the Prætorship), and pra
him to beware of Cæsar's sweet enticements,
to fly his tyrannical favours: the which they said Cæsar g
him, not to honour his virtue, but to weaken his const
mind, framing it to the bent of his bow.

Cassius married Junia, Brutus' sister.

The first cause of Cassius' malice against Cæsar.

Now Cæsar, on the other side, did not trust him overmu
nor was without tales brought unto him against him: how
he feared his great mind, authority, and frie
Yet, on the other side also, he trusted his g
nature and fair conditions. For, intelligence be
brought him one day, that Antonius and Dolab
did conspire against him: he answered "That these fat l
haired men made him not afraid, but the lean and whitely-fa

Cæsar suspected Brutus.

lows," meaning that by° Brutus and Cassius. At another
ne also when one accused Brutus unto him, and bad him
ware of him: "What," said he again, clapping
s hands on his breast, "think ye that Brutus
ll not tarry till this body die?" meaning that
ne but Brutus after him was meet to have such
wer as he had. And surely, (in my opinion) I am persuaded
at Brutus might indeed have come to have been the chiefest
an of Rome, if he could have contented himself for a time to
ve been next unto Cæsar, and to have suffered his glory and
thority, which he had gotten by his great victories, to con-
me with time. But Cassius, being a choleric man, and hat-
g Cæsar privately more than he did the tyranny
enly, he incensed Brutus against him. It is
o reported, that Brutus could evil away with°
e tyranny, and that Cassius hated the tyrant:
king many complaints for the injuries he had done him; and
ongst others, for that he had taken away his lions from him.
ssius had provided them for his sports when he should be
dilis; and they were found in the city of
gara,° when it was won by Calenus: and Cæsar
pt them. The rumour went, that these lions
l marvellous great hurt to the Megarians:
when the city was taken, they brake their cages where they
re tied up and turned them loose, thinking they would have
ne great mischief to the enemies, and have kept them from
tting upon them: but the lions (contrary to expectation)
rned upon themselves that fled unarmed, and did so cruelly
ar some in pieces, that it pitied their enemies to see them.
nd this was the cause (as some do report) that made Cassius
spire against Cæsar. But this holdeth no water:
Cassius, even from his cradle, could not abide
y manner of tyrants; as it appeared when he
s but a boy, and went unto the same school

Cæsar's saying of Brutus.

Cassius incenseth Brutus against Cæsar.

Cassius' lions in Megara.

Cassius enemy of tyrants.

that Faustus the son of Sylla did. And Faustus, brag among other boys, highly boasted of his father's kingd Cassius rose up on his feet, and gave him two good wirts the ear. Faustus' governors would have put this matter in against Cassius: but Pompey would not suffer them, but ca the two boys to be brought before him, and asked them the matter came to pass. Then Cassius (as it is writte him) said unto the other: "Go to, Faustus, speak again, thou darest, before this nobleman here, the same words made me angry with thee, that my fists may walk once a about thine ears." Such was Cassius' hot stirring nat

How Brutus was incensed against Cæsar.

But for Brutus, his friends and countrymen, by divers procurements and sundry rumour the city, and by many bills also, did openly and procure him to do that he did. For u the image of his ancestor Junius Brutus, (that drave the k out of Rome) they wrote: "O, that it pleased the gods t wert now alive, Brutus!" and again, "that thou wert among us now!" His tribunal or chair, where he gave a ence during the time he was Prætor, was full of such b "Brutus, thou art asleep, and art not Brutus indeed." An all this Cæsar's flatterers were the cause: who, beside n other exceeding and unspeakable honours they daily devise him, in the night-time they put diadems upon the heads of images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to him King, instead of Dictator. Howbeit it turned to the trary, as we have written more at large in Julius Cæsar's li

Now when Cassius felt his friends, and did stir them against Cæsar: they all agreed, and promised to take part him, so° Brutus were the chief of their conspiracy. For told him that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, not so much require men of manhood and courage to draw t swords, as it stood them upon° to have a man of such est tion as Brutus, to make every man boldly think, that by

y presence the fact were holy and just. If he took not this
ırse, then that they should go to it with fainter hearts; and
en they had done it, they should be more fearful: because
ry man would think that Brutus would not have refused to
ve made one with them, if the cause had been
d and honest. Therefore Cassius, considering
s matter with himself, did first of all speak to
ıtus, since they grew strange together for the
t they had for the prætorship. So when he
reconciled to him again, and that they had
braced one another, Cassius asked him if he were determined
be in the Senate-house the first day of the month of March,
ause he heard say that Cæsar's friends should move the
ncil that day, that Cæsar should be called king by the Sen-
. Brutus answered him, he would not be there. "But if
be sent for," said Cassius, "how then?" "For myself then,"
l Brutus, "I mean not to hold my peace, but to withstand
and rather die than lose my liberty." Cassius being bold,
l taking hold of this word: "Why," quoth he, "what
man is he alive that will suffer thee to die for thy liberty?
ıat? knowest thou not that thou art Brutus? Thinkest thou
t they be cobblers, tapsters, or suchlike base mechanical
ple, that write these bills and scrolls which are found daily
thy prætor's chair, and not the noblest men and best citizens
t do it? No; be thou well assured that of other prætors
y look for gifts, common distributions amongst the people,
l for common plays, and to see fencers fight at the sharp,
shew the people pastime: but at thy hands they specially
uire (as a due debt unto them) the taking away of the
anny, being fully bent to suffer any extremity for thy sake,
that thou wilt shew thyself to be the man thou art taken
, and that they hope thou art." Thereupon he kissed Brutus
l embraced him: and so each taking leave of other, they
ut both to speak with their friends about it. Now amongst

Cassius prayeth Brutus first to help him to put down the tyrant.

Pompey's friends, there was one called Caius* Ligarius, had been accused unto Cæsar for taking part with Pompey, Cæsar discharged° him. But Ligarius thar not Cæsar so much for his discharge, as he offended with him for that he was brough danger by his tyrannical power; and therefo his heart he was always his mortal enemy, and was bes very familiar with Brutus, who went to see him being in his bed, and said unto him: "Ligarius, in v a time art thou sick?" Ligarius rising up in bed, and taking him by the right hand, said him: "Brutus," said he, "if thou hast any g enterprise in hand worthy of thyself, I am whe

* In another place they call him Quintus.

Brutus maketh Ligarius one of the conspiracy.

After that time they began to feel all their acquaint whom they trusted, and laid their heads together, consul upon it, and did not only pick out their friends, but all t also whom they thought stout enough to attempt any des ate matter, and that were not afraid to their lives. For this cause they durst not quaint Cicero with their conspiracy, although was a man whom they loved dearly, and tru best: for they were afraid that he being a cov by nature, and age also having increased his fear, he w quite turn and alter all their purpose, and quench the of their enterprise, (the which specially required hot earnest execution), seeking by persuasion to bring all thing such safety, as there should be no peril. Brutus also di other of his friends alone, as Statilius Epicurian, and Faon that made profession to follow Marcus Cato: because t having cast out words afar off, disputing together in philos to feel their minds, Faonius answered, ' civil war was worse than tyrannical governm usurped against the law.' And Statilius told also, 'that it were an unwise part for him to

They do hide the conspiracy against Cæsar from Cicero.

Civil war worse than tyrannical government.

s life in danger, for a sort of ignorant fools and asses.'
bœo was present at this talk, and maintained the contrary
ainst them both. But Brutus held his peace, as though it
d been a doubtful matter, and a hard thing to have been
ided. But afterwards, being out of their company, he made
bœo privy to his intent; who very readily offered himself to
ke one. And they thought good also to bring in another
utus to join with him, surnamed Albinus: who was no man
his hands" himself, but because he was able to bring good force
a great number of slaves, and fencers at the sharp, whom he
pt to shew the people pastime with their fighting, besides
o that Cæsar had some trust in him. Cassius and Labeo
d Brutus Albinus of it at the first, but he made them no
swer. But when he had spoken with Brutus himself alone,
d that Brutus had told him he was the chief ringleader of all
is conspiracy, then he willingly promised him the best aid he
ld. Furthermore, the only" name and great calling of
utus did bring on the most of them to give consent to this
nspiracy: who having never taken oaths together, nor taken
given any caution or assurance, nor binding themselves one
another by any religious oaths, they all kept
matter so secret to themselves, and could so
mningly handle it, that notwithstanding the
ds did reveal it by manifest signs and tokens
m above, and by predictions of sacrifices, yet all
is would not be believed. Now Brutus, who
ew very well that for his sake all the noblest, valiantest,
d most courageous men of Rome did venture their lives,
ighing with himself the greatness of the danger: when
was out his house, he did so frame and fashion his coun-
nance and looks that no man could discern he had anything
trouble his mind. But when night came that he was in his
n house, then he was clean changed: for either care did
ke him against his will when he would have slept, or else

The wonderful faith and secrecy of the conspirators of Cæsar's death.

oftentimes of himself he fell into such deep thoughts of
enterprise, casting in his mind all the dangers that might h
pen: that his wife, lying by him, found that there was s
marvellous great matter that troubled his mind, not being w
to be in that taking,° and that he could not well determ
with himself.

His wife Porcia (as we have told you before) was
daughter of Cato, whom Brutus married being his cousin,
a maiden, but a young widow after the death
her first husband Bibulus, by whom she
also a young son called Bibulus, who afterwa
wrote a book of the acts and gests° of Bru
extant at this present day. This young la
being excellently well-seen° in philosophy, lov
her husband well, and being of a noble coura
as she was also wise: because she would not
her husband what he ailed before she had m
some proof by° her self: she took a little razor, s
as barbers occupy° to pare men's nails, and, ca
ing her maids and women to go out of her chamber, gave h
self a great gash withal in her thigh, that she was straight
of a gore blood: and incontinently after a vehement fever t
her, by reason of the pain of her wound. Then perceiving
husband was marvellously out of quiet, and that he could t
no rest, even in her greatest pain of all she spake in this s
unto him: "I being, O Brutus," said she, "
daughter of Cato, was married unto thee; not to
thy bed-fellow and companion in bed and at bo
only, like a harlot, but to be partaker also with t
thy good and evil fortune. Now for thysel
can find no cause of fault in thee touching
match: but for my part, how may I shew
duty towards thee and how much I would do
thy sake, if I cannot constantly bear a secret mischance or gr

Porcia, Cato's daughter, wife unto Brutus.

Bibulus' book of Brutus' acts.

Porcia studied in philosophy.

The courage of Porcia.

Great difference between a wife and a harlot.

Porcia's words unto her husband Brutus.

ith thee, which requireth secrecy and fidelity? I confess that woman's wit commonly is too weak to keep a secret safely: ut yet, Brutus, good education and the company of virtuous en have some power to reform the defect of nature. And for yself, I have this benefit moreover, that I am the daughter of ato, and wife of Brutus. This notwithstanding, I did not ust to any of these things before, until that now I have found ; experience that no pain or grief whatsoever can overcome e." With those words she shewed him her wound on her igh, and told him what she had done to prove herself. rutus was amazed to hear what she said unto him, and lifting o his hands to heaven, he besought the gods to give him the race he might bring his enterprise to so good pass, that he ight be found a husband worthy of so noble a wife as Porcia: o he then did comfort her the best he could.

Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at hat time they hoped Cæsar would not fail to come, the con- pirators determined then to put their enterprise in execution, ecause they might meet safely at that time without suspicion; nd the rather, for that all the noblest and chiefest men of the ty would be there: who, when they should see such a great atter executed, would every man set to their hands, for the efence of their liberty. Furthermore they thought also, that ie appointment of the place where the council should be kept as chosen of purpose by divine providence, and made all for em. For it was one of the porches about the theatre, in the hich there was a certain place full of seats for men to sit in; here also was set up the image of Pompey, which the city had ade and consecrated in honour of him, when he did beautify at part of the city with the theatre he built, with divers orches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate ppointed to be, just on the fifteenth day of the month March, hich the Romans call *Idus Martias*: so that it seemed some od of purpose had brought Cæsar thither to be slain, for revenge

of Pompey's death. So when the day was come, Brutus wo
out of his house with a dagger by his side under his long gow
that nobody saw nor knew but his wife only. The other co
spirators were all assembled at Cassius' house, to bring his son in
the market-place, who on that day did put on the man's gow
called *toga virilis*; and from thence they came all in a tro
together unto Pompey's porch, looking that Cæsar would straig
come thither. But here is to be noted the wond
ful assured constancy of these conspirators, in
dangerous and weighty an enterprise as they h
undertaken. For many of them being præto
by reason of their office (whose duty is to minis
justice to everybody) did not only with gre
quietness and courtesy hear them that spake unto them,
that pleaded matters before them, and gave them attentive
as if they had no other matter in their heads: but moreo
they gave just sentence, and carefully despatched the cau
before them. So there was one among them, who, being co
demned in a certain sum of money, refused to pay it, and cr
out that he did appeal unto Cæsar. Then Brutus, casting
eyes upon the conspirators, said: "Cæsar shall not let me
see the law executed." Notwithstanding this,
chance there fell out many misfortunes unto the
which was enough to have marred the enterpri
The first and chiefest was Cæsar's long tarryi
who came very late to the Senate: for, beca
the signs of the sacrifices appeared unlucky, his wife Calphur
kept him at home, and the soothsayers bade him beware
went not abroad. The second cause was, when one came u
Casca being a conspirator, and taking him by the hand, s
unto him: "O Casca, thou keptest it close from me, but Bru
hath told me all." Casca being amazed at it, the other went
with his tale, and said: "Why, how now, how cometh it
pass thou art thus rich, that thou dost sue to be Ædilis

The wonderful constancy of the conspirators in killing of Cæsar.

Sundry misfortunes to have broken off the enterprise.

Thus Casca being deceived by the other's doubtful words, he told them it was a thousand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracy. Another Senator, called Popilius Læna, after he had saluted Brutus and Cassius more friendly than he was wont to do, he rounded° softly in their ears, and told them: "I pray the gods you may go through with that you have taken in hand; but withal, despatch, I reade° you, for your enterprise is bewrayed." When he had said, he presently departed from them, and left them both afraid that their conspiracy would out.

Now in the meantime, there came one of Brutus' men post-haste unto him, and told him his wife was a-dying. For Porcia, being very careful and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weak to away with so great and inward grief of mind, she could hardly keep within, but was frighted with every little noise and cry she heard, as those that are taken and possessed with the fury of the Bacchantes; asking every man that came from the market-place what Brutus did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to know what news. At length Cæsar's coming being prolonged (as you have heard), Porcia's weakness was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon she suddenly swounded, that she had no leisure to go to her chamber, but was taken in the midst of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit she soon came to herself again, and so was laid in her bed, and attended by her women. When Brutus heard these news, it grieved him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not off the care of his country and commonwealth, neither went home to his house for any news he heard.

The weakness of Porcia, notwithstanding her former courage.

Now it was reported that Cæsar was coming in his litter: for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (because he was afraid of the unlucky signs of the sacrifices) but to adjourn matters of importance unto the next session and

council holden, feigning himself not to be well at ease. Whe
Cæsar came out of his litter, Popilius Læna (that had talke
before with Brutus and Cassius, and had prayed the gods the
might bring this enterprise to pass) went unto Cæsar, and kep
him a long time with a talk. Cæsar gave good ear unto him
wherefore the conspirators (if so they should be called) no
hearing what he said to Cæsar, but conjecturing by that he ha
told them a little before that his talk was none other but th
very discovery of their conspiracy, they were afraid every ma
of them; and, one looking in another's face, it was easy to se
that they all were of a mind, that it was no tarrying for then
till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kil
themselves with their own hands. And when Cassius and cer
tain other clapped their hands on their swords under thei
gowns to draw them, Brutus, marking the countenance an
gesture of Læna, and considering that he did us
himself rather like an humble and earnest suito
than like an accuser, he said nothing to his com
panion (because there were many amongst then
that were not of the conspiracy), but with
pleasant countenance encouraged Cassius. An
immediately after Læna went from Cæsar, and kissed his hand
which shewed plainly that it was for some matter concernin
himself that he had held him so long in talk. Now all th
Senators being entered first into this place or chapter-hous
where the council should be kept, all the other conspirator
straight stood about Cæsar's chair, as if they ha
had something to say unto him. And some sa
that Cassius, casting his eyes upon Pompey'
image, made his prayer unto it, as if it had bee
alive. Trebonius* on the other side drew Antoniu
aside, as he came into the house where the Senat
sat, and held him with a long talk without. Whe
Cæsar was come into the house, all the Senate ros

Brutus with his countenance encouraged his fearful consorts.

*** In Cæsar's life it is said, it was Decius Brutus Albinus that kept Antonius with a talk without.**

to honour him at his coming in. So when he was set, the conspirators flocked about him, and amongst them they presented one Tullius Cimber,* who made humble suit for the calling home again of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessors for him, and took Cæsar by the hands, and kissed his head and breast. Cæsar at the first simply refused their kindness and entreaties; but afterwards, perceiving they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked Cæsar's gown over his shoulders, and Casca, that stood behind him, drew his dagger first and strake Cæsar upon the shoulder, but gave him no great wound. Cæsar, feeling himself hurt, took him straight by the hand he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: "O traitor Casca, what dost thou?" Casca on the other side cried in Greek, and called his brother to help him. So divers running on a heap together to fly upon Cæsar, he, looking about him to have fled, saw Brutus with a sword drawn in his hand ready to strike at him: then he let Casca's hand go, and casting his gown over his face, suffered every man to strike at him that would. Then the conspirators thronging one upon another, because every man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt another, and among them Brutus caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murthering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them bloodied.

* In Cæsar's life he is called Metellus Cimber.

The murder of Cæsar.

Casca the first that wounded him.

Cæsar being slain in this manner, Brutus, standing in the middest of the house, would have spoken, and stayed the other Senators that were not of the conspiracy, to have told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they, as men both afraid and amazed, fled one upon another's neck in haste to get out at the door, and no man followed them. For it was set

down and agreed between them, that they should kill no ma but Cæsar only, and should intreat all the rest to look to defen their liberty. All the conspirators, but Brutus, determinin upon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, becaus he was a wicked man, and that in nature favoured tyranny besides also, for that he was in great estimation with soldier having been conversant of long time amongst them: and esp ciálly having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also c great authority at that time, being Consul with Cæsar. Bu

Why Antonius was not slain with Cæsar.

Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that h said it was not honest°: secondly, because he tol them there was hope of change in him. For h did not mistrust but that Antonius, being a nobl minded and courageous man, (when he should know that Cæsa was dead), would willingly help his country to recover he liberty, having them an example unto him to follow their cou rage and virtue. So Brutus by this means saved Antonius' lif who at that present time disguised himself and stole away: bu

Brutus with his consorts went unto the Capitol.

Brutus and his consorts, having their swords blood in their hands, went straight to the Capitol, pe suading the Romans as they went to take the liberty again. Now at the first time, when th murther was newly done, there were sudden outcries of peop that ran up and down the city, the which indeed did the mor increase the fear and tumult. But when they saw they slew n man, neither did spoil or make havoc of anything, then certai of the Senators and many of the people, emboldening them selves, went to the Capitol unto them.

There, a great number of men being assembled together or after another, Brutus made an oration unto them, to win th favour of the people, and to justify that they had done. A those that were by said they had done well, and cried unto the that they should boldly come down from the Capitol: wher upon Brutus and his companions came boldly down into th

market-place. The rest followed in troupe, but Brutus went foremost, very honourably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the city, which brought him from the Capitol, through the market-place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehels° of all sorts, and had a good will to make some stir; yet, being ashamed to do it, for the reverence they bare unto Brutus, they kept silence to hear what he would say. When Brutus began to speak, they gave him quiet audience: howbeit, immediately after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another, called Cinna, would have spoken, and began to accuse Cæsar, they fell into a great uproar among them, and marvellously reviled him; insomuch that the conspirators returned again into the Capitol. There Brutus, being afraid to be besieged, sent back again the noblemen that came thither with him, thinking it no reason that they, which were no partakers of the murther, should be partakers of the danger. Then the next morning, the Senate being assembled, and holden within the temple of the goddess Tellus, to wit, the Earth: and Antonius, Plancus,° and Cicero, having made a motion to the Senate in that assembly that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to establish friendship and peace again: it was decreed, that they should not only be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should refer it to the Senate, what honours should be appointed unto them. This being agreed upon, the Senate brake up; and Antonius the Consul, to put them in heart that were in the Capitol, sent them his son for a pledge. Upon this assurance, Brutus and his companions came down from the Capitol, where every man saluted and embraced each other; among the which Antonius himself did bid Cassius to supper to him, and Lepidus also bade Brutus; and so one bade another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together.

Honours decreed for the murderers of Cæsar.

The next day following, the Senate, being called again t
council, did first of all commend Antonius, for that he ha
wisely stayed° and quenched the beginning of a civil war: the
they also gave Brutus and his consorts great praises; and lasti
they appointed them several governments of Provinces. Fo
unto Brutus they appointed Creta; Africa unto Cassius; As
unto Trebonius; Bithynia unto Cimber; and unto the othe
Decius Brutus Albinus, Gaul on this side of the Alps. Whe
this was done, they came to talk of Cæsar's will and testamen
and of his funerals and tomb. Then Antoniu
thinking good his testament should be read openl
and also that his body should be honourabl
buried, and not in hugger-mugger,° lest the people migh
thereby take occasion to be worse offended if they did othe
wise: Cassius stoutly spake against it. But Brutus went wit
the motion, and agreed unto it; wherein it seemeth he com
mitted a second fault. For the first fault he di
was when he would not consent to his fellow
conspirators, that Antonius should be slain; an
therefore he was justly accused, that thereby h
had saved and strengthened a strong and grievou
enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was, whe
he agreed that Cæsar's funerals should be as Antoniu
would have them, the which indeed marred all. For first o
all, when Cæsar's testament was openly read among them
whereby it appeared that he bequeathed unto every citizen o
Rome 75 drachmas° a man; and that he left his gardens an
arbours unto the people, which he had on this side of the rive
Tiber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built
the people then loved him, and were marvellou
sorry for him. Afterwards, when Cæsar's bod
was brought into the market-place, Antoniu
making his funeral oration in praise of the dea
according to the ancient custom of Rome, and perceivin

Cæsar's will and funerals.

Brutus committed two great faults after Cæsar's death.

Antonius' funeral oration for Cæsar.

that his words moved the common people to compassion, he framed his eloquence to make their hearts yearn the more; and taking Cæsar's gown all bloody in his hand, he laid it open to the sight of them all, shewing what a number of cuts and holes it had upon it. Therewithal the people fell presently into such a rage and mutiny, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cried out, "Kill the murtherers:" others plucked up forms, tables, and stalls about the market-place, as they had done before at the funerals of Clodius, and having laid them all on a heap together, they set them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of Cæsar, and burnt it in the mids of the most holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was throughly kindled, some here, some there, took burning firebrands, and ran with them to the murtherers' houses that killed him, to set them on fire. Howbeit the conspirators, foreseeing the danger before, had wisely provided for themselves and fled.

But there was a poet called Cinna, who had been no partaker of the conspiracy, but was always one of Cæsar's chiefest friends: he dreamed, the night before, that Cæsar had him to supper with him, and that, he refusing to go, Cæsar was very importunate with him, and compelled him; so that at length he led him by the hand into a great dark place, where, being marvellously afraid, he was driven to follow him in spite of his heart.° This dream put him all night into a fever; and yet notwithstanding, the next morning, when he heard that they carried Cæsar's body to burial, being ashamed not to accompany his funerals, he went out of his house, and thrust himself into the prease of the common people that were in a great uproar. And because some one called him by his name Cinna, the people, thinking he had been that Cinna who in an oration he made had spoken very evil of Cæsar, they,

The strange dream of Cinna the poet.

The murder of Cinna the poet, being mistaken for another of that name

falling upon him in their rage, slew him outright in the marke
place. This made Brutus and his companions more afrai
than any other thing next unto the change of An
tonius. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, an
kept at the first in the city of Antium,° hopin
to return again to Rome, when the fury of th
people was a little assuaged. The which they hoped would b
quickly, considering that they had to deal with a fickle an
unconstant multitude, easy to be carried,° and that th
Senate stood for them: who notwithstanding made no enquir
for them that had torn poor Cinna the poet in pieces, bu
caused them to be sought for and apprehended that went wit
firebrands to set fire on the conspirators' houses. The peopl
growing weary now of Antonius' pride and insolency, who rule
all things in a manner with absolute power, they desired tha
Brutus might return again; and it was also looked for tha
Brutus would come himself in person to play the plays whic
were due to the people, by reason of his office of prætorship
But Brutus, understanding that many of Cæsar's soldiers whic
served under him in the wars, and that also had lands an
houses given them in the cities where they lay,° did lie in wa
for him to kill him, and that they daily by sma
companies came by one and by one into Rome, h
durst no more return thither: but yet the peopl
had the pleasure and pastime in his absence, to se
the games and sports he made them, which were sumptuousl
set forth and furnished with all things necessary, sparing for n
cost. For he had brought a great number of strange beasts, o
the which he would not give one of them to any friend he had
but that they should all be employed in his games: and wen
himself as far as Byzantium,° to speak to some players o
comedies and musicians that were there. And further he wrot
unto his friends for one Canutius, an excellent player, tha
whatsoever they did, they should entreat him to play in thes

Brutus and his consorts do fly from Rome.

Brutus' plays and sports at Rome in his absence.

lays. "For," said he, "it is no reason° to compel any Grecian, nless he will come of his own good will." Moreover he wrote lso unto Cicero, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be t these plays.

Now the state of Rome standing in these terms, there fell ut another change and alteration, when the young man Octa- ius Cæsar° came to Rome. He was the son of ulius Cæsar's niece, whom he had adopted for his on, and made his heir, by his last will and testa- ent. But when Julius Cæsar, his adopted father, as slain, he was in the city of Apollonia (where he studied) arrying for him, because he was determined to make war with he Parthians: but when he heard the news of his death, he eturned again to Rome. Where, to begin to curry favour with he common people, he first of all took upon him his adopted ather's name, and made distribution among them of the money hich his father had bequeathed unto them. By this means e troubled Antonius sorely, and by force of money got a great umber of his father's soldiers together, that had served in the ars with him.° And Cicero himself, for the great alice he bare Antonius, did favour his proceed gs: but Brutus marvellously reproved him for , and wrote unto him, that he seemed by his do- gs not to be sorry to have a master, but only to e afraid to have one that should hate him: and at all his doings in the commonwealth did witness, that he ose to be subject to a mild and courteous bondage, sith by is words and writings he did commend this young man Octa- ius Cæsar to be a good and gentle lord. "For our prede- ssors," said he, "would never abide to be subject to any asters, how gentle or mild soever they were:" and, 'for his wn part, that he had never resolutely determined with him- lf to make war, or peace; but otherwise, that he was cer- inly minded never to be slave nor subject. And therefore he

Octavius Cæsar's coming to Rome.

Brutus reproved Cicero for taking part with Octavius Cæsar.

wondered much at him, how Cicero could be afraid of the
ger of civil wars, and would not be afraid of a shameful pe
and that, to thrust Antonius out of the usurped tyranny
recompense he went about to establish young Octavius Ca
tyrant.' These were the contents of Brutus' first letters
wrote unto Cicero.

Now the city of Rome being divided in two factions, s
taking part with Antonius, others also leaning unto Octa
Cæsar, and the soldiers making portsale° of their service to
that would give most: Brutus, seeing the state of Rome w
be utterly overthrown, he determined to go out of Italy,
went on foot through the country of Luke,° unto the city
Elea, standing by the sea. There Porcia, b
ready to depart from her husband Brutus, an
return to Rome, did what she could to dissem
the grief and sorrow she felt at her heart: bu
certain painted table° bewrayed her in the
although until that time she shewed always a
stant and patient mind. The device of the t
was taken out of the Greek stories, how An
maché accompanied her husband Hector when
went out of the city of Troy to go to the wars,
how Hector delivered her his little son, and
her eyes were never off him. Porcia seeing this picture,
likening herself to be in the same case, she fell a-weeping:
coming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept s
Acilius, one of Brutus' friends, perceiving that, rehearsed
verses Andromaché speaketh to this purpose in Homer:

Porcia's sorrowful return to Rome, for the absence of her husband Brutus.

The story of Hector and Andromache set forth in painted tables.

"Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my broth
And husband eke, and all in all: I mind not any other."

Then Brutus smiling, answered again: "But yet," said he,
cannot for my part say unto Porcia, as Hector answered An
maché in the same place of the poet:

Tush, meddle thou with duly weighing out
Thy maids their task, and pricking on a clout.

or indeed the weak constitution of her body doth not suffer
r to perform in shew the valiant acts that we are able to do:
t for courage and constant mind, she shewed herself as stout,
the defence of her country, as any of us." Bibulus, the son
Porcia, reporteth this story thus. Now Brutus embarking
Elea in Lake, he sailed directly towards Athens. When he
ived there, the people of Athens received him
ith common joys of rejoicing and honourable de-
ees made for him. He lay with a friend of his,
ith whom he went daily to hear the lectures of
heomnestus the Academic philosopher, and of Cratippus the
eripatetic,° and so would talk with them in philosophy, that
seemed he left all other matters, and gave himself only to
ndy: howbeit secretly, notwithstanding, he made
reparation for war. For he sent Herostratus into
acedon, to win the captains and soldiers that
ere upon those marches,° and he did also enter-
in all the young gentlemen of the Romans, whom he found in
thens studying philosophy: amongst them he found Cicero's
n, whom he highly praised and commended, say-
g: "That, whether he waked or slept, he found
im of a noble mind and disposition, he did in
ature so much hate tyrants." Shortly after, he
egan to enter openly into arms: and being advertised° that
ere came out of Asia a certain fleet of Roman ships that
ad got good store of money in them, and that the captain of
ose ships (who was an honest man and his familiar friend)
me towards Athens: he went to meet him as far as the ile of
arystos, and having spoken with him there, he handled him so
hat he was contented to leave his ships in his hands: where-
pon he made him a notable banquet at his house, because it
as on his birthday. When the feast-day came, and that they

How Brutus bestowed his time at Athens.

Brutus preparеth himself to war.

Brutus commendeth Cicero's son.

began to drink lustily one to another, the guests drank to t
victory of Brutus and the liberty of the Romans. Brut
therefore, to encourage them farther, called for a bigger cu
and, holding it in his hand, before he drank spake this aloud

> "My destiny and Phœbus are agreed
> To bring me to my final end with speed."

And for proof hereof it is reported, that, the same day
fought his last battle by the city of Philippes, as he came
of his tent he gave them for the word and signal of batt
'Phœbus': so that it was thought ever since, that this
sudden crying out at the feast was a prognostication of his n
fortune that should happen. After this, Antistius gave hi
of the money he carried into Italy, fifty myriads.° Furth
more, all Pompey's soldiers, that straggled up and down Th
saly, came with very good will unto him. He took from Ciu
also five hundred horsemen, which he carried into Asia u
Dolabella. After that, he went by sea unto the city of Der
triade,° and there took a great deal of armour and munit
which was going to Antonius: and the which had been m
and forged there by Julius Cæsar's commandment, for the w
against the Parthians. Furthermore Hortensius, governor
Macedon, did resign the government thereof unto him.
sides, all the princes, kings, and noblemen thereabouts, ca
and joined with him, when it was told him, that Caius (A
nius' brother) coming out of Italy, had passed the sea,
came with great speed towards the city of Dyrrachium,
Apollonia, to get the soldiers into his hands which Gabi
had there. Brutus therefore, to prevent him, went prese
with a few of his men in the midst of winter when it did s
hard, and took his way through hard and foul countries,
made such speed indeed, that he was there long before Anto
sumpters that carried the victuals.

So that when he came near to Dyrrachium, a disease took im, which the physicians call *βουλιμία*, to say, a cormorant and nsatiable appetite to eat; by reason of the cold nd pains he had taken. This sickness chanceth ften both to men and beasts, that travel when hath snowen: either because the natural heat, eing retired into the inward parts of the body, by he coldness of the air hardening the skin, doth traight digest and consume the meat: or else ecause a sharp subtle wind, coming by reason of he snow when it is molten, doth pierce into the ody, and driveth out the natural heat which was ast outward. For it seemeth that the heat, being uenched with the cold which it meeteth withal coming ut of the skin of the body, causeth the sweats that follow he disease. But hereof we have spoken at large in other laces. Brutus being very faint, and having nothing in his amp to eat, his soldiers were compelled to go to their enemies; nd coming to the gates of the city, they prayed he warders to help them to bread. When they eard in what case Brutus was, they brought him oth meat and drink: in requital whereof, afterwards, when he wan the city, he did not only intreat° and use he citizens thereof courteously, but all the inhabitants of the ity also for their sakes. Now when Caius Antonius was rrived in the city of Apollonia, he sent unto the soldiers thereabouts to come unto him. But when he understood that they went all to Brutus, and furthermore, that the citizens of Apollonia did favour him much, he then forsook that city and went into the city of Buthrotus; but yet he lost three of his ensigns by the way, that were slain every man of them. Then he sought by force to win certain places of strength about Byllis, and to drive Brutus' men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore, to obtain his purpose, he sought a battle with Cicero,

A strange disease took Brutus at Dyrrachium.

Why by snow this hungry disease taketh men that are wearied with travel.

Brutus' thankfulness and clemency.

the son of Marcus Tullius Cicero, by whom he was overco
For Brutus made the younger Cicero a captain, and did m
notable exploits by his service. Shortly after, having st
upon Caius Antonius in certain marrishes far from the pl
from whence he fled, he would not set on him with fury but o
rode round about him, commanding his soldiers to spare him
his men, as reckoning them all his own without stroke striki
And so indeed it happened: for they yielded themselves
their captain Antonius unto Brutus; so that Brutus had
a great army about him. Now Brutus kept
Caius Antonius long time in his office, and ne
took from him the marks and signs of his C
sulship, although many of his friends, and Cic
among others, wrote unto him to put him to death. But w
he saw Antonius secretly practised with his captains to m
some alteration, then he sent him into a ship, and made him
be kept there. When the soldiers whom Caius Antonius
corrupted were gotten into the city of Apollonia, and sent fr
thence unto Brutus to come unto them, he made them answ
"That it was not the manner of Roman captains to come
the soldiers, but the soldiers to come to the captain, and
crave pardon for their offences committed." Thereupon t
came to him, and he pardoned them.

C. Antonius yielded unto Brutus.

So Brutus preparing to go into Asia, news came unto him
the great change at Rome: for Octavius Cæsar was in arms,
commandment and authority from the Senate, against Mar
Antonius. But after that he had driven Antonius out of It
the Senate began then to be afraid of him, because he s
to be Consul, which was contrary to the law; and kep
great army about him when the empire of Rome had no n
of them. On the other side Octavius Cæsar, perceiving
Senate stayed not there, but turned unto Brutus that was
of Italy, and that they appointed him the government of
tain provinces: then he began to be afraid for his part,

ent unto Antonius to offer him his friendship. Then coming on with his army near to Rome, he made himself to be chosen Consul, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a stripling or springall of twenty years old, as himself reporteth in his own commentaries. So when he was Consul, he presently appointed judges, to accuse Brutus and his companions for killing of the noblest person in Rome and chiefest magistrate without law or judgment: and made L. Cornificius accuse Brutus, and M. Agrippa,° Cassius. So the parties accused were condemned, because the Judges were compelled to give such sentence. The voice° went, that when the herald (according to the custom after sentence given) went up to the chair or pulpit for orations, and proclaimed 'Brutus' with a loud voice, summoning him to appear in person before the judges, the people that stood by sighed openly, and the noblemen that were present hung down their heads, and durst not speak a word. Among them the tears fell from Publius Silicius' eyes: who, shortly after, was one of the proscripts or outlaws appointed to be slain. After that, these three, Octavius Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus, made an agreement between themselves, and by those articles divided the provinces belonging to the empire of Rome among themselves, and did set up bills of proscription and outlawry, condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number Cicero was one. News being brought thereof into Macedon, Brutus, being then enforced to do it, wrote unto Hortensius that he should put Caius Antonius to death, to be revenged of the death of Cicero and of the other Brutus, of the which the one was his friend, and the other a kinsman. For this cause therefore Antonius afterwards, taking Hortensius at the battle of Philippes, he made

Octavius Cæsar joineth with Antonius.

Brutus accused and condemned, by Octavius Cæsar's means, for the death of Julius Cæsar.

The Triumvirate.

C. Antonius murdered.

him to be slain upon his° brother's tomb. But when Brut
said that, he was more ashamed of the cause for the wh
Cicero was slain than he was otherwise sorry for his deat
and that he could not but greatly reprove his friends he h
at Rome, who were slaves more through their own fa
than through their valiantness or manhood which usurped t
tyranny: considering that they were so cowardly and fai
hearted, as to suffer the sight of those things before their ey
the report whereof should only have grieved them to the hea
Now when Brutus had passed over his army (that was v
great) into Asia, he gave order for the gathering of a gr
number of ships together, as well in the coast of Bithynia,
also in the city of Cyzicum,° because he would have an ar
by sea; and himself in the meantime went unto the cities, t
ing order for all things, and giving audience to princes a
noblemen of the country that had to do with him. Afterwa
he sent unto Cassius in Syria, to turn him from his journey i
Egypt, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any ki
dom for themselves that they wandered up and down in t
sort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their country ag
to her liberty: and that the multitude of soldiers they ga
ered together was to subdue the tyrants that would keep th
in slavery and subjection. Wherefore, regarding their chief p
pose and intent, they should not be far from Italy, as near
they could possible, but should rather make all the haste t

Brutus and Cassius do join armies together.

could, to keep their countrymen. Cassius belie
him, and returned. Brutus went to meet him,
they both met at the city of Smyrna, which
the first time that they saw together since t
took leave each of other at the haven of Piræa in Athens,
one going into Syria, and the other into Macedon. So t
were marvellous joyful, and no less courageous, when they
the great armies together which they had both levied: con
ering that they departed out of Italy like naked and poor b

shed men, without armour and money, nor having any ship ready nor soldier about them, nor any one town at their commandment; yet notwithstanding, in a short time after, they were now met together, having ships, money, and soldiers enough, both footmen and horsemen, to fight for the empire of Rome.

Now Cassius would have done Brutus much honour, as Brutus did unto him, but Brutus most commonly prevented him, and went first unto him, both because he was the elder man as also for that he was sickly of body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilful in wars, but otherwise marvellous choleric and cruel, who sought to rule men by fear rather than with lenity: and on the other side, he was too familiar with his friends, and would jest too broadly with them. But Brutus, contrary manner, for his virtue and valiantness, as well beloved of the people and his own, esteemed of noblemen, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies; because he was a marvellous lowly and gentle person, noble-minded, and would never be in any rage, or carried away with pleasure and covetousness, but had ever an upright mind with him, and would never yield to any wrong or injustice; the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, and of the goodwill that every man bare him: for they were all persuaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly believe that, if Pompey himself had overcome Cæsar, he would have refined his authority to the law, but rather they were of opinion that he would still keep the sovereignty and absolute government in his hands, taking only, to please the people, the title of Consul, or Dictator, or of some other more civil office. And as for Cassius, a hot, choleric, and cruel man, that would oftentimes be carried away from justice for gain, it is certainly thought that he made war and put himself into

The sharp and cruel conditions of Cassius.

Brutus' gentle and fair conditions.

Brutus' intent good, if he had overcome.

sundry dangers, more to have absolute power and authori
than to defend the liberty of his country. For they that w
also consider others that were elder men than they, as Cinn
Marinus,° and Carbo,° it is out of doubt that the end and ho
of their victory was to be the lords of their country, and in ma
ner they did all confess that they fought for the tyranny, a
to be lords of the empire of Rome. And in contrary mann
his enemies themselves did never reprove Brut
for any such change or desire. For it was sa
that Antonius spake it openly divers times, th
he thought, that of all them that had slain Cæs
there was none but Brutus only that was moved to do it,
thinking the act commendable of itself: but that all the oth
conspirators did conspire his death for some private malice
envy, that they otherwise did bear unto him. Hereby it appe
eth, that Brutus did not trust so much to the power of
army as he did to his own virtue, as it is to be seen by
writings. For approaching near to the instant° danger,
wrote unto Pomponius Atticus° that his affa
had the best hap that could be. "For," said
"either I will set my country at liberty by bat
or by honourable death rid me of this bondag
And furthermore, that they being certain and assured of
things else, this one thing only was doubtful to them: whet
they should live or die with liberty. He wrote also that An
nius had his due payment for his folly: "for where he mi
have been a partner equally of the glory of Brutus, Cass
and Cato, and have made one with them, he liked better
choose to be joined with Octavius Cæsar alone: with wh
though now he be not overcome by us, yet s
he shortly after also have war with him." A
truly he proved a true prophet, for so came
indeed to pass. Now whilst Brutus and Cas
were together in the city of Smyrna, Brutus prayed Cassiu

Antonius' testimony of Brutus.

Brutus' noble mind to his country.

Brutus a true prophet of Antonius.

him have some part of his money whereof he had great ore; because all that he could rap and rend° of his side, he d bestowed it in making so great a number of ships, that by ans of them they should keep all the sea at their command- nt. Cassius' friends hindered this request and earnestly dis- aded him from it, persuading him, that it was no reason that utus should have the money which Cassius had gotten to- ther by sparing and levied with great evil will of the people eir subjects, for him to bestow liberally upon his soldiers, and this means to win their good wills, by Cassius' charge. This twithstanding, Cassius gave him the third part of this total n. So Cassius and Brutus then departing from each other, ssius took the city of Rhodes, where he too honestly and cruelly used himself: although, en he came into the city, he answered some of e inhabitants who called him lord and king, t he was neither lord nor king, but he° only that had slain n that would have been lord and king.

Cassius won the city of Rhodes.

Brutus, departing from thence, sent unto the Lycians° to re- ire money and men of war. But there was a certain orator led Naucrates, that made the cities to rebel against him, omuch that the countrymen of that country kept the straights° l little mountains, thinking by that means to stop Brutus' ssage. Wherefore Brutus sent his horsemen ainst them, who stole upon them as they were dinner, and slew six hundred of them: and ring all the small towns and villages, he did let all the soners he took go without payment of ransom, hoping by s his great courtesy to win them, to draw all the rest of the ntry unto him. But they were so fierce and obstinate, that y would mutine for every small hurt they received as he ssed by their country, and did despise his courtesy and good ure: until that at length he went to besiege the city of the nthians,° within the which were shut up the cruellest and

Brutus' gests in Lycia.

most warlike men of Lycia. There was a river that ran by
walls of the city, in the which many men saved themselv
swimming between two waters, and fled: howbeit they l
nets overthwart the river, and tied little bells on the top
them, to sound when any man was taken in
nets. The Xanthians made a sally out by nig
and came to fire certain engines of the battery t
beat down their walls: but they were preset
driven in again by the Romans, so soon as they were discover
The wind by chance was marvellous big, and increased
flame so sore, that it violently carried it into the cranewes
the wall of the city, that the next houses unto them w
straight set on fire thereby. Wherefore Brutus being afi
that all the city would take on fire, he presently comman
his men to quench the fire, and to save the town if it might
But the Lycians at that instant fell into such a frenzy
strange and horrible despair, that no man can well express
and a man cannot more rightly compare or liken it than
frantic and most desperate desire to die. For all of t
together, with their wives and children, mas
and servants, and of all sorts of age whatsoe
fought upon the rampiers of their walls and
cast down stones and fire-works on the Rom
which were very busy in quenching the flame of
fire, to save the city. And in contrary manner also,
brought faggots, dry wood, and reeds, to bring the fire fu
into the city as much as might be, increasing it by such th
as they brought. Now when the fire had gotten into all
of the city, and that the flame burnt bright in every p
Brutus, being sorry to see it, got upon his horse, and
round about the walls of the city, to see if it were possibl
to save it, and held up his hands to the inhabitants, pra
them to pardon their city, and to save themselves. How
they would not be persuaded, but did all that they could

The city of Xanthus set on fire.

The desperate end of the Xanthians.

e to cast themselves away, not only men and women, but also
tle children. For some of them, weeping and crying out, did
st themselves into the fire: others, headlong throwing them-
lves down from the walls, brake their necks: others also made
eir backs bare to the naked swords of their fathers, and
did their clothes, praying them to kill them with their own
nds. After the city was burnt, they found a woman hanged
by the neck, holding one of her children in her hand dead
her, hanged up also, and in the other hand a burning torch
tting fire on her house. Some would have had Brutus to
ve seen her, but he would not see so horrible and tragical a
ght: but when he heard it, he fell a-weeping, and caused an
rald to make proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he
ould give a certain sum of money to every soldier that could
ve a Xanthian. So there were not (as it is reported) above
ty of them saved, and yet they were saved against their wills.
us the Xanthians having ended the revolution of their fatal
stiny after a long continuance of time, they did through their
speration renew the memory of the lamentable calamities of
eir ancestors, who in like manner, in the wars of the Persians,
l burn their city, and destroyed themselves. Therefore
utus, likewise besieging the city of the Patareians, perceiv-
g that they stoutly resisted him, he was also afraid of that,
d could not well tell whether he should give assault to it or
t, lest they would fall into the despair and desperation of the
nthians. Howbeit, having taken certain of their women
isoners, he sent them back again without payment of ransom.
ow they that were the wives and daughters of the noblest
n of the city, reporting unto their parents that they had
nd Brutus a merciful, just, and courteous man,
y persuaded them to yield themselves and
eir city unto him; the which they did. So
ter they had thus yielded themselves, divers
her cities also followed them, and did the like:

The Patareians do yield themselves unto Brutus.

and found Brutus more merciful and courteous than t
thought they should have done, but specially far above Cass
For Cassius, about the self-same time, after he had compel
the Rhodians every man to deliver all the rea
money they had in gold and silver in their hous
the which, being brought together, amounted
the sum of eight thousand talents: yet he c
demned the city besides, to pay the sum of
hundred talents more. Where Brutus in contr
manner, after he had levied of all the coun
of Lycia but an hundred and fifty talents only,
departed thence into the country of Ionia,° and did them
more hurt.

The extreme covetousness and cruelty of Cassius to the Rhodians.

Brutus' clemency unto the Lycians.

Now Brutus, in all this journey, did many notable acts
worthy of memory, both for rewarding, as also in punish
those that had deserved it: wherefore, among the rest, I v
tell you of one thing, of the which he himself and all
noblemen of the Romans were marvellous glad. When Pomp
the Great (having lost the battle against Julius Caesar, in
fields of Pharsalia) came and fell upon the coast of Egypt, h
by the city of Pelusium, those that were protectors to
young king Ptolemy, being then but a child, sat in counsel w
his servants and friends, what they should determine in t
case. They were not all of one mind in this consultation:
some thought it good to receive Pompey: others also, that t
should drive him out of Egypt. But there was a cert
rhetorician called Theodotus, that was born in
isle of Chio, who was the king's schoolmaste
teach him rhetoric. He, being called to
council for lack of sufficient men, said, "T
both the one and the other side went awry, as w
those that were of opinion to receive Pompey
the other that would have had him driven awa
and that the best way was (considering the p

Theodotus, born in Chio, a rhetorician, schoolmaster to Ptolemy the young king of Egypt.

nt time) that they should lay hold on him, and kill him;" ding withal this sentence, "that a dead man biteth not." ne whole council stuck to this opinion. So, for notable example of incredible misfortune, and looked-for unto Pompey, Pompey the Great was ain by the motion and counsel of this wicked etorician Theodotus, as Theodotus afterwards did himself boast it. But when Julius Cæsar came afterwards into Egypt, e wicked men that consented to this counsel had eir payment according to their deserts: for they ed every man of them a wicked death, saving this neodotus, whom fortune respited a little while nger; and yet in that time he lived a poor and iserable life, never tarrying long in any one place. Brutus going up and down Asia, Theodotus uld hide himself no longer, but was brought nto Brutus, where he suffered pains of death: that he wan more fame by his death, than ever he did in s life.

Theodotus' saying, "A dead man biteth not."

Theodotus Chian, the rhetorician that gave counsel to kill Pompey, was put to death by Brutus.

About that time Brutus sent to pray Cassius to come to the ty of Sardis,° and so he did. Brutus, understanding of his ming, went to meet him with all his friends. here both their armies being armed, they called em both *Emperors*. Now as it commonly hapned in great affairs between two persons, both them having many friends and so many captains nder them, there ran tales and complaints betwixt em. Therefore, before they fell in hand with y other matter, they went into a little chamber gether, and bade every man avoid, and did shut e doors to them. Then they began to pour out eir complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, rnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a-weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber, hearing

Brutus and Cassius do meet at the city of Sardis.

Brutus' and Cassius' complaints one unto the other.

them loud within, and angry between themselves, they w
both amazed and afraid also, lest it would grow to furt
matter: but yet they were commanded that
man should come to them. Notwithstanding,
Marcus Phaonius, that had been a friend an
follower of Cato while he lived, and took u
him to counterfeit a philosopher, not with wisdom and dis
tion, but with a certain bedlem° and frantic motion: he wo
needs come into the chamber, though the men offered° to k
him out. But it was no boot to let Phaonius, when a
mood or toy° took him in the head: for he was a hot ha
man, and sudden in all his doings, and cared for never a s
tor of them all. Now, though he used this bold manner
speech after the profession of the Cynic° philo
phers (as who would say, *Dogs*), yet his boldn
did no hurt many times, because they did
laugh at him to see him so mad. This Phaon
at that time, in despite of the door-keepers, came into the ch
ber, and with a certain scoffing and mocking gesture, which
counterfeited of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which
Nestor said in Homer:

M. Phaonius a follower of Cato.

Cynic philosophers counted dogs.

> "My lords, I pray you hearken both to me,
> For I have seen mo years than suchie° three."

Cassius fell a-laughing at him: but Brutus thrust him out
the chamber, and called him dog, and counterfeit Cynic. H
beit his coming in brake their strife at that time, and so t
left each other. The self-same night Cassius prepared his s
per in his chamber, and Brutus brought his friends with h
So when they were set at supper, Phaonius came to sit d
after he had washed. Brutus told him aloud, 'no man sent
him,' and bad them set him at the *upper* end: meaning ind
at the *lower* end of the bed.° Phaonius made no ceremo
but thrust in amongst the middest of them, and made all

mpany laugh at him. So they were merry all supper-time, d full of their philosophy. The next day after, Brutus, upon mplaint of the Sardians, did condemn and note Lucius Pella r a defamed person, that had been a Prætor of the Romans, d whom Brutus had given charge unto: for that he was cused and convicted of robbery and pilfery in his office. This dgment much misliked Cassius, because he himself had secretly ot many days before) warned two of his friends, attainted and nvicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: t yet he did not therefore leave° to employ them in any man- r of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly re- ved Brutus, for that he would shew himself so straight and vere, in such a time as was meeter to bear a little than to ke things at the worst. Brutus in contrary manner answered, at he should remember the Ides of March, at nich time they slew Julius Cæsar, who neither lled nor polled° the country, but only was a vourer and suborner of all them that did rob d spoil, by his countenance and authority. And if there re any occasion whereby they might honestly set aside jus- e and equity, they should have had more reason to have suf- ed Cæsar's friends to have robbed and done what wrong and jury they had would° than to bear with their own men. For then," said he, "they could but have said we had been wards, but now they may accuse us of injustice, beside the ins we take, and the danger we put ourselves into." And us may we see what Brutus' intent and purpose was.

Julius Cæsar slain at the Ides of March.

But as they both prepared to pass over again out of Asia to Europe, there went a rumour that there appeared a won- rful sign unto him. Brutus was a careful man, d slept very little, both for that his diet was derate, as also because he was continually occu- ed. He never slept in the day-time, and in the ght no longer than the time he was driven to be

The wonderful constancy of Brutus in matters of justice and equity.

alone, and when everybody else took their rest. But n
whilst he was in war, and his head ever busily occupied
think of his affairs and what would happ
Brutus' care and watching.
after he had slumbered a little after supper,
spent all the rest of the night in dispatchi
of his weightiest causes; and after he had taken order
them, if he had any leisure left him, he would read some bo
till the third watch of the night, at what time the captai
petty captains, and colonels, did use to come to him.
being ready to go into Europe, one night very late (when
the camp took quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a lit
light, thinking of weighty matters, he thought he heard
come in to him, and casting his eye towards
A spirit appeared unto Brutus in the city of Sardis.
door of his tent, that he saw a wonderful stra
and monstrous shape of a body coming towa
him, and said never a word. So Brutus bol
asked what he was, a god or a man, and w
cause brought him thither? The spirit answered him, "I
thy evil spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the city
Philippes." Brutus being no otherwise afraid, replied ag
unto it: "Well, then I shall see thee again." The sp
presently vanished away: and Brutus called his men unto h
who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw anything
all. Thereupon Brutus returned again to think on his mat
as he did before: and when the day brake, he went u
Cassius, to tell him what vision had appeared unto him in
night. Cassius being in opinion an Epicure
Cassius' opinion of spirits after the Epicurean sect.
and reasoning thereon with Brutus, spake to
touching the vision thus. "In our sect, Bru
we have an opinion, that we do not always fee
see that which we suppose we do both see and
but that our senses being credulous and therefore easily abu
(when they are idle and unoccupied in their own objects)
induced to imagine they see and conjecture that which in tr

ey do not. For our mind is quick and cunning to work
vithout either cause or matter) anything in the imagination
hatsoever. And therefore the imagination is resembled to
ay, and the mind to the potter: who without any other cause
an his fancy and pleasure, changeth it into what fashion and
rm he will. And this doth the diversity of our
eams shew unto us. For our imagination doth
on a small fancy grow from conceipt° to conceipt,
tering both in passions and forms of things imagined. For
e mind of man is ever occupied, and that continual moving is
thing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause
this in you. For you being by nature given to melancholic
scoursing, and of late continually occupied, your wits and
nses, having been over-laboured, do easilier yield to such
naginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angels;
d if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such
ices or any power at all to come unto us, it is a mockery.
nd for mine own part, I would there were such, because that
e should not only have soldiers, horses, and ships, but also
e aid of the gods, to guide and further our honest and honour-
le attempts." With these words Cassius did somewhat com-
rt and quiet Brutus. When they raised their
mp, there came two eagles that, flying with a
arvellous force, lighted upon two of the foremost
signs, and always followed the soldiers, which
ave them meat and fed them, until they came near to the city
Philippes: and there, one day only before the battle, they
th flew away.

The cause of dreams.

A wonderful sign by two eagles.

Now Brutus had conquered the most part of all the people
d nations of that country; but if there were any other city
captain to overcome, then they made all clear before them,
d so drew towards the coasts of Thassos.° There Norbanus,
ing in camp in a certain place called the straights by another
ace called Symbolon (which is a port in the sea), Cassius and

Brutus compassed him in in such sort, that he was driven
forsake the place, which was of great strength for him, and
was also in danger beside to have lost all his army. H
Octavius Cæsar could not follow him because of his sickn
and therefore stayed behind: whereupon they had taken
army, had not Antonius' aid been, which made such wonde
speed, that Brutus could scant believe it. So Cæsar came
thither of ten days after: and Antonius camp
against Cassius, and Brutus on the other si
against Cæsar. The Romans called the val
between both camps, the Philippian fields: a
there were never seen two so great armies of
Romans, one before the other, ready to fight.
truth, Brutus' army was inferior to Octav
Cæsar's in number of men; but for bravery a
rich furniture, Brutus' army far excelled Cæsa
For the most part of their armours were sil
and gilt, which Brutus had bountifully given the
although, in all other things, he taught his captains to live
order without excess. But for the bravery of armour a
weapon, which soldiers should carry in th
hands, or otherwise wear upon their backs,
thought that it was an encouragement unto th
that by nature are greedy of honour, and that
maketh them also fight like devils that love to g
and to be afraid to lose: because they fight
keep their armour and weapon, as also their go
and lands. Now when they came to muster their arm
Octavius Cæsar took the muster of his army within
trenches of his camp, and gave his men only a little corn,
five silver drachmas to every man to sacrifice to the gods, a
to pray for victory. But Brutus, scorning this misery a
niggardliness, first of all mustered his army, and did purify
in the fields, according to the manner of the Romans: a

Brutus' and Cassius' camps before the city of Philippi, against Octavius Cæsar and Antonius.

Brutus' soldiers bravely armed.

Brutus' opinion for the bravery of soldiers in their armour and weapons.

ıen he gave unto every band a number of wethers to sacrifice, ıd fifty silver drachmas° to every soldier. So that Brutus' ıd Cassius' soldiers were better pleased, and more courageously ent to fight at the day of battle, than their ıemies' soldiers were. Notwithstanding, being usily occupied about the ceremonies of this puri- cation, it is reported that there chanced certain ılucky signs unto Cassius. For one of his sergeants that ırried the rods before him, brought him the garland of flowers ırned backward, the which he should have worn on his head ı the time of sacrificing. Moreover it is reported also, that ıother time before, in certain sports and triumph where they ırried an image of Cassius' victory, of clean° gold, it fell by ıance, the man stumbling that carried it. And yet further, ıere was seen a marvellous number of fowls of prey, that feed pon dead carcases: and bee-hives also were found, where bees ere gathered together in a certain place within the trenches of ıe camp: the which place the soothsayers thought good to ıut out of the precinct of the camp, for to take away the ıperstitious fear and mistrust men would have of it. The hich began somewhat to alter Cassius' mind from Epicurus' ıinions, and had put the soldiers also in a marvellous fear. hereupon Cassius was of opinion not to try this ar at one battle, but rather to delay time, and draw it out in length, considering that they ere the stronger in money, and the weaker in en and armour. But Brutus, in contrary manner, id always before, and at that time also, desire nothing more ıan to put all to the hazard of battle, as soon as might be ssible: to the end he might either quickly restore his country her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable orld, being still troubled in following and maintaining of such reat armies together. But perceiving that, in the daily skir- ishes and bickerings they made, his men were always the

Unlucky signs unto Cassius.

Cassius' and Brutus' opinions about the battle.

stronger and ever had the better, that yet quickened his spi again, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, cause that some of their own men had already yielded th selves to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreo divers others would do the like, that made many of Cass friends which were of his mind before (when it came to be bated in council, whether the battle should fought or not) that they were then of Brutus' mi But yet was there one of Brutus' friends cal Atellius, that was against it, and was of opin that they should tarry to the next winter. Brutus asked h what he should get by tarrying a year longer? "If I get n ing else," quoth Atellius again, "yet have I lived so m longer." Cassius was very angry with this answer: a Atellius was maliced° and esteemed the worse for it of all m Thereupon it was presently determined they should fight ba the next day. So Brutus, all supper-time, looked with a ch ful countenance, like a man that had good hope, and talk very wisely of philosophy, and after supper went to bed. touching Cassius, Messala° reporteth that he supped by h self in his tent with a few of his friends, and that all supp time he looked very sadly, and was full of thoughts, althou it was against his nature: and that after supper he took h by the hand, and holding him fast (in token of kindness, as manner was) told him in Greek: "Messala protest unto thee, and make thee my witn that I am compelled against my mind and will Pompey the Great was) to jeopard the liberty our country to the hazard of a battle. And we must be lively, and of good courage, considering our g fortune, whom we should wrong too much to mistrust her, though we follow evil counsel." Messala writeth, that Cass having spoken these last words unto him, he bade him f well, and willed him to come to supper to him the next ni

Atellius' opinion for the battle.

Cassius' words unto Messala the night before the battle.

lowing, because it was his birthday. The next morning, by eak of day, the signal of battle was set out in Brutus' and ıssius' camp, which was an arming scarlet coat: and both e chieftains spake together in the midst of their mies. There Cassius began to speak first, and id: "The gods grant us, O Brutus, that this y we may win the field, and ever after to live l the rest of our life quietly one with another. But sith the ds have so ordained it, that the greatest and chiefest things nongst men are most uncertain, and that if the battle fall t otherwise to-day than we wish or look for, we shall hardly eet again, what art thou then determined to , to fly, or die?" Brutus answered him, being t but a young man, and not over greatly ex- rienced in the world: "I trust (I know not w) a certain rule of philosophy, by the which I did greatly ame and reprove Cato for killing himself, as being no law- l nor godly act, touching the gods: nor concerning men, liant; not to give place and yield to divine providence, and t constantly and patiently to take whatsoever it pleaseth him send us, but to draw back and fly: but being now in the idst of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be t the will of God that this battle fall out fortunate for us, I ill look no more for hope, neither seek to make any new pply for war again, but will rid me of this miserable world, d content me with my fortune. For I gave up my life for y country in the Ides of March,° for the which I shall live in nother more glorious world." Cassius fell a-laughing to hear hat he said, and embracing him, "Come on then," said he, let us go and charge our enemies with this mind. For either e shall conquer, or we shall not need to fear the conquerors." fter this talk, they fell to consultation among their friends for ie ordering of the battle. Then Brutus prayed Cassius he ight have the leading of the right wing, the which men

Brutus and Cassius talk before the battle.

Brutus' answer to Cassius.

thought was far meeter for Cassius, both because he was elder man, and also for that he had the better experien

The battle at Philippi against Octavius Cæsar and Antonius.

But yet Cassius gave it him, and willed t Messala (who had charge of one of the w likest legions they had) should be also in t wing with Brutus. So Brutus presently sent his horsemen, who were excellently well appoint and his footmen also were as willing and rea to give charge.

Now Antonius' men did cast a trench from the marrish the which they lay, to cut off Cassius' way to come to the se and Cæsar, at the least his army stirred not. As for Octav Cæsar himself, he was not in his camp because he was si And for his people, they little thought the enemies would ha given them battle, but only have made some light skirmishes hinder them that wrought in the trench, and with their da and slings to have kept them from finishing of their work: b they, taking no heed to them that came full upon them to g them battle, marvelled much at the great noise they heard, th came from the place where they were casting their trench. the meantime Brutus, that led the right wing, sent little bills the colonels and captains of private bands, in the which wrote the word of the battle; and he himself, riding a-horseba by all the troupes, did speak to them, and encouraged them stick to it like men. So by this means very few of them und stood what was the word of the battle, and besides, the m part of them never tarried to have it told them, but ran w great fury to assail the enemies; whereby, through this disord the legions were marvellously scattered and dispersed one fr the other. For first of all Messala's legion, and then the ne unto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and nothing, but glancing by them overthrew some as they wer and so going on further, fell right upon Cæsar's camp, out of t which (as himself writeth in his commentaries) he had been c

veyed away a little before, through the counsel and advice of one of his friends called Marcus Artorius: who, dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared unto him, that commanded Octavius Cæsar should be carried out of his camp. Insomuch as it was thought he was slain, because his litter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with pikes and darts. There was great slaughter in this camp. For amongst others, there were slain two thousand Lacedæmonians, who were arrived but even a little before, coming to aid Cæsar. The other also that had not glanced by, but had given a charge full upon Cæsar's battle,[a] they easily made them fly, because they were greatly troubled for the loss of their camp; and of them there were slain by hand three legions. Then, being very earnest to follow the chase of them that fled, they ran in amongst them hand over head into their camp, and Brutus among them. But that which the conquerors thought not of, occasion[b] shewed it unto them that they were overcome; and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked and unguarded of them of the right wing, who were strayed too far off, in following of them that were overthrown. So they gave a hot charge upon them. But, not withstanding all the force they made, they could not break into the midst of their battle, where they found them that received them and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and overthrew the left wing where Cassius was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them, beating them into their camp, the which they spoiled, none of both the chieftains being present there. For Antonius, as it is reported, to fly the fury of the first charge, was gotten into the next marish: and no man could tell what became of Octavius Cæsar, after he was carried out of his camp. Insomuch that there were certain soldiers that shewed their swords bloodied, and said that they had slain him, and did describe his face, and shewed what

Octavius Cæsar falsely reported to be

slain at the battle of Philippi. Cassius' misfortune.

age he was of. Furthermore, the voward° and th middest of Brutus' battle had already put all the enemies to flight that withstood them, with grea slaughter: so that Brutus had conquered all o his side, and Cassius had lost all on the other sid For nothing undid them but that Brutus went not to hel Cassius, thinking he had overcome them as himself had done and Cassius on the other side tarried not for Brutus, thinking h had been overthrown as himself was. And to prove that th victory fell on Brutus' side, Messala confirmeth, that they wa three eagles, and divers other ensigns of the enemies, and the enemies wan never a one of theirs. Now Brutus returnin from the chase, after he had slain and sacked Cæsar's mer he wondered much that he could not see Cassius' tent standin up high as it was wont, neither the other tents of his cam standing as they were before, because all the whole camp ha been spoiled, and the tents thrown down, at the first comin of their enemies. But they that were about Brutus, whos sight served them better, told them that they saw a grea glistering of harness, and a number of silvered targets that wer and came into Cassius' camp, and were not (as they took i the armours nor the number of men that they had left there t guard the camp; and yet that they saw not such a number o dead bodies and great overthrow as there should have bee if so many legions had been slain. This made Brutus at th first mistrust that which had happened. So he appointed number of men to keep the camp of his enemy which he ha taken, and caused his men to be sent for that y

Cassius offended with the sundry errors Brutus and his men committed in battle.

followed the chase, and gathered them togethe thinking to lead them to aid Cassius, who was i this state as you shall hear. First of all, he wa marvellous angry to see how Brutus' men ran t give charge upon their enemies, and tarried not fe the word of the battle, nor commandment to giv

harge: and it grieved him beside, that after he had over-ome them, his men fell straight to spoil, and were not areful to compass in the rest of the enemies behind: but ith tarrying too long also, more than through the valiantness r foresight of the captains his enemies, Cassius found himself ompassed in with the right wing of his enemy's army. Where-pon his horsemen brake immediately, and fled for life towards he sea. Furthermore perceiving his footmen to ive ground, he did what he could to keep them rom flying, and took an ensign from one of the nsign bearers that fled, and stuck it fast at his et: although with much ado he could scant keep his own uard together.

Cassius' valiantness in wars.

So Cassius himself was at length compelled to fly, with a few bout him, unto a little hill, from whence they might easily see hat was done in all the plain: howbeit Cassius himself saw othing, for his sight was very bad, saving that he saw (and et with much ado) how the enemies spoiled his camp before his yes. He saw also a great troupe of horsemen, whom Brutus nt to aid him, and thought that they were his enemies that llowed him: but yet he sent Titinnius, one of them that was ith him, to go and know what they were. Brutus' horsemen w him coming afar off, whom when they knew that he was ne of Cassius' chiefest friends, they shouted out for joy; and ey that were familiarly acquainted with him lighted from eir horses, and went and embraced him. The rest compassed im in round about on horseback, with songs of victory and reat rushing of their harness, so that they made all the field ng again for joy. But this marred all. For assius, thinking indeed that Titinnius was taken f the enemies, he then spake these words: "De ring too much to live, I have lived to see one of y best friends taken, for my sake, before my ee." After that, he got into a tent where nobody was, and

The importance of error and mistaking in wars.

took Pindarus with him, one of his bondsmen whom he reserv
ever for such a pinch, since the cursed battle of the Parthian
where Crassus was slain, though he notwithstanding scap
from that overthrow: but then, casting his cloak over his hea
and holding out his bare neck unto Pindarus, he gave him h
head to be stricken off. So the head was foun
severed from the body: but after that time Pind
rus was never seen more. Whereupon some to
occasion to say that he had slain his master wit
out his commandment. By and by they knew the horsem
that came towards them, and might see Titinnius crown
with a garland of triumph, who came before with great spe
unto Cassius. But when he perceived, by the cries and tea
of his friends which tormented themselves, the misfortune th
had chanced to his captain Cassius by mistaking, he drew ou
his sword, cursing himself a thousand times that he had tarri
so long, and so slew himself presently in the fiel
Brutus in the mean time came forward still, a
understood also that Cassius had been overthrown
but he knew nothing of his death till he came very near to his cam
So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death
Cassius, calling him the last of all the Romans, being unpossible th
Rome should ever breed again so noble and valiant a man as he, h
caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the city of Thasso
fearing lest his funerals within his camp should cause great di
order. Then he called his soldiers together, and did encourag
them again. And when he saw that they had lost all the
carriage, which they could not brook well, he promised eve
man of them two thousand drachmas in recompense. After h
soldiers had heard his oration, they were all of them pretti
cheered again, wondering much at his great liberality, a
waited upon him with great cries when he went his way, prai
ing him, for that he only of the four chieftains was not ove
come in battle. And to speak the truth, his deeds shew

Cassius slain by his man Pindarus.

The death of Titinnius.

hat he hoped not in vain to be conqueror. For with few egions he had slain and driven all them away that made head gainst him: and if all his people had fought, and that the ost of them had not outgone their enemies to run to spoil eir goods, surely it was like enough he had slain them all, nd had left never a man of them alive. There ere slain of Brutus' side about eight thousand en, counting the soldiers' slaves, whom Brutus alled *Brigas:* and of the enemy's side, as Mes- la writeth, there were slain, as he supposeth, more than twice s many moe. Wherefore they were more discouraged than rutus, until that, very late at night, there was one of Cassius' en called Demetrius, who went unto Antonius, and carried his aster's clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and is sword also. This encouraged Brutus' enemies, and made em so brave, that the next morning betimes they stood in attle ray again before Brutus.

The number of men slain at the battle of Philippi.

But on Brutus' side, both his camps stood wavering, and at in great danger. For his own camp, being full of pri- oners, required a good guard to look unto them: and Cassius' amp on the other side took the death of their captain very eavily; and beside, there was some vile grudge between them at were overcome and those that did overcome. For this use therefore Brutus did set them in battle ray, but yet kept imself from giving battle. Now for the slaves that were pri- oners, which were a great number, and went and came to and o amongst these armed men, not without suspicion, he com- anded they should kill them. But for the free men, he sent em freely home, and said that they were better prisoners with is enemies than with him. For with them, they were slaves nd servants: and with him, they were free men and citizens. o when he saw that divers captains and his friends did so uelly hate some, that they would by no means save their ves, Brutus himself hid them, and secretly sent them away.

Among these prisoners, there was one Volumnius, a jeste
and Sacculio, a common player, of whom Brutus made
account at all. Howbeit his friends brought the
unto him, and did accuse them, that though th
were prisoners, they did not let° to laugh them
scorn, and to jest broadly with them. Brutus ma
no answer to it, because his head was occupied otherwis
Whereupon Messala Corvinus said that it were good to wh
them on a scaffold, and then to send them naked, well whippe
unto the captains of their enemies, to shew them their shan
to keep such mates as those in their camp, to play the fools
make them sport. Some that stood by laughed at his devi
But Publius Casca, that gave Julius Cæsar the first wou
when he was slain, said then: "It doth not become us to
thus merry at Cassius' funerals: and for thee, Brutus, th
shalt shew what estimation thou madest of such a captain t
compeer, by putting to death, or saving the lives of the
bloods,° who hereafter will mock him and defame his memory
Brutus answered again in choler: "Why then do you come
tell me of it, Casca, and do not yourselves what you thi
good?" When they heard him say so, they took his answ
for a consent against these poor unfortunate men, to suf
them to do what they thought good: and therefore they c
ried them away, and slew them. Afterwards Brutus p
formed the promise he had made to the soldiers, and ga
them the two thousand drachmas apiece; but yet he fi
reproved them, because they went and gave charge upon t
enemies at the first battle, before they had the word of bat
given them: and made them a new promise also, that if in t
second battle they fought like men, he would give them t
sack and spoil of two cities, to wit, Thessalon
and Lacedæmon. In all Brutus' life there is l
this only fault to be found, and that is not
be gainsaid: though Antonius and Octavius Ca

Brutus' clemency and courtesy.

Brutus' fault wisely excused by Plutarch.

d reward their soldiers far worse for their victory. For hen they had driven all the natural Italians out of Italy, ey gave their soldiers their lands and towns, to the which ey had no right: and moreover the only mark they shot in all this war they made, was but to overcome and ign: where in contrary manner they had so great an opinion Brutus' virtue, that the common voice and opinion of the orld would not suffer him neither to overcome nor to save him- lf otherwise than justly and honestly, and specially after assius' death; whom men burdened,° that oftentimes he oved Brutus to great cruelty. But now, like as the mariners the sea, after the rudder of their ship is broken by tempest, seek to nail on some other piece of wood in lieu thereof, and help themselves to keep them from hurt, as much as may , upon that instant danger: even so Brutus, having such a eat army to govern, and his affairs standing very tickle, and aving no other captain coequal with him in dignity and au- ority, he was forced to employ them he had; and likewise to ruled by them in many things, and was of mind himself also grant them any thing that he thought might make them rve like noble soldiers at time of need. For Cassius' soldiers ere very evil to be ruled, and did shew themselves very stub- rn and lusty in the camp, because they had no chieftain that d command them: but yet rank cowards to their enemies, ecause they had once overcome them. On the other side, ctavius Caesar and Antonius were not in much better state; r first of all they lacked victuals. And because they were dged in low places, they looked to abide a hard and sharp inter, being camped as they were by the marish side: and so for that, after the battle, there had fallen plenty of rain out the autumn, wherethrough all their tents were full of ire and dirt, the which by reason of the cold did freeze incon- nently. But beside all these discommodities, there came news nto them of the great loss they had of their men by sea.

For Brutus' ships met with a great aid and supply of me
which were sent them out of Italy, and they overthrew the
in such sort, that there scaped but few of them
and yet they were so famished, that they we
compelled to eat the tackle and sails of the
ships. Thereupon they were very desirous to fig
a battle again, before Brutus should have intel
gence of this good news for him: for it chanced s
that the battle was fought by sea, on the selfsa
day it was fought by land. But by ill fortune, rather th
through the malice or negligence of the captains, this victo
came not to Brutus' ear till twenty days aft
For had he known of it before, he would n
have been brought to have fought a second batt
considering that he had excellent good provisi
for his army for a long time; and besides lay
a place of great strength, so as his camp cou
not greatly be hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by h
enemies: and further, he had been a quiet lord, being a co
queror by sea, as he was also by land. This would have m
vellously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in m
opinion) being now brought to that pass, that it could no mo
abide to be governed by many lords, but required one or
absolute governor: God, to prevent Brutus that it should n
come to his government, kept this victory from his knowled
though indeed it came but a little too late. For the day bef
the last battle was given, very late in the night, came Clodi
one of his enemies, into his camp, who told that Cæsar, he
ing of the overthrow of his army by sea, desired nothing m
than to fight a battle before Brutus understood it. Howl
they gave no credit to his words, but despised him so mu
that they would not vouchsafe to bring him unto Brutus,
cause they thought it but a lie devised, to be the better w
come for this good news. The selfsame night, it is repor

Brutus' victory by sea.

Wonderful famine among Cæsar's soldiers by sea.

The ignorance of Brutus' victory by sea was his utter destruction.

hat the monstrous spirit which had appeared before unto Brutus in the city of Sardis, did now appear again unto him n the selfsame shape and form, and so vanished way, and said never a word. Now Publius 'olumnius, a grave and wise philosopher, that ad been with Brutus from the beginning of this 'ar, doth make no mention of this spirit; but saith iat the greatest eagle and ensign was covered ver with a swarm of bees; and that there was ie of the captains, whose arm suddenly fell a weating, that it dropped oil of roses from him, and that they ftentimes went about to dry him, but all would do no good. nd that, before the battle was fought, there were two eagles ught between both armies, and all the time they fought there as a marvellous great silence all the valley over, both the mies being one before the other, marking this fight between iem; and that in the end, the eagle towards Brutus gave over id fled away. But this is certain, and a true tale, that when ie gate of the camp was open, the first man the standard-earer met that carried the eagle, was an Æthiopian, whom ie soldiers, for ill luck, mangled with their swords.

The evil spirit appeared again unto Brutus.

Strange sights before Brutus' second battle.

Now after that Brutus had brought his army into the field, id had set them in battle ray, directly against the voward of s enemy, he paused a long time before he gave ie signal of battle. For Brutus riding up and own to view the bands and companies, it came in s head to mistrust some of them, besides that some came to ll him so much as he thought. Moreover, he saw his horse-en set forward but faintly, and did not go lustily to give arge, but still stayed to see what the footmen would do. aen suddenly, one of the chiefest knights he had in all his my, called Camulatius, and that was alway marvellously teemed of for his valiantness, until that time: he came hard Brutus on horseback, and rode before his face to yield him-

Brutus' second battle.

self unto his enemies. Brutus was marvellous sorry for
wherefore, partly for anger, and partly for fear of grea
treason and rebellion, he suddenly caused his army to mar
being past three of the clock in the afternoon. So in th
place where he himself fought in person, he had the better, a
brake into the left wing of his enemies; which gave him w
through the help of his horsemen that gave charge with
footmen, when they saw the enemies in a maze and afra
Howbeit, the other also on the right wing, when the capta
would have had them to have marched, they were afraid
have been compassed in behind, because they were fewer
number than their enemies, and therefore did spread themselv
and leave the middest of the battle. Whereby they hav
weakened themselves, they could not withstand the force
their enemies, but turned tail straight and fled. And th

Brutus' valiantness and great skill in war.

that had put them to flight, came in straig
upon it to compass Brutus behind, who, in
middest of the conflict, did all that was possi
for a skilful captain and valiant soldier, both
his wisdom, as also his hardiness, for the obtaining of victo
But that which wan him the victory at the first battle, did n
lose it him at the second. For at the first time, the enem
that were broken and fled were straight cut in pieces: but
the second battle, of Cassius' men that were put to flig
there were few slain: and they that saved themselves by spe
being afraid because they had been overcome, did discour
the rest of the army when they came to join with them,

The death of the valiant young man Cato the son of Marcus Cato.

filled all the army with fear and disorder. Th
was the son of Marcus Cato slain, valiantly fig
ing among the lusty youths. For notwithsta
ing that he was very weary and over-harried,
would he not therefore fly; but manfully fight
and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also
father's name, at length he was beaten down amongst many ot

ad bodies of his enemies, which he had slain round about m. So there were slain in the field all the chiefest gentlemen d nobility that were in his army, who valiantly ran into any nger to save Brutus' life: amongst whom there was one of utus' friends called Lucilius, who seeing a troupe barbarous men making no reckoning of all men e they met in their way, but going all together ght against Brutus, he determined to stay them th the hazard of his life; and being left behind, told them at he was Brutus: and because they should believe him, he ayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he said he was aid of Cæsar, and that he did trust Antonius better. ese barbarous men, being very glad of this good hap, and inking themselves happy men, they carried him in the night, d sent some before unto Antonius, to tell him of their coming. e was marvellous glad of it, and went out to meet them that ought him. Others also understanding of it, that they had ought Brutus prisoner, they came out of all parts of the mp to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, and others say- g that it was not done like himself, so cowardly to be taken ve of the barbarous people for fear of death. When they me near together, Antonius stayed a while bethinking him- f how he should use Brutus. In the meantime Lucilius was ought to him, who stoutly with a bold countenance said: Antonius, I dare assure thee, that no enemy hath taken nor all take Marcus Brutus alive, and I beseech God keep him m that fortune: for wheresoever he be found, alive or dead, will be found like himself. And now for myself, I am come to thee, having deceived these men of arms here, bearing em down that I was Brutus, and do not refuse to suffer any rment thou wilt put me to." Lucilius' words made them all azed that heard him. Antonius on the other side, looking on all them that had brought him, said unto them: "My npanions, I think ye are sorry you have failed of your pur-

The fidelity of Lucilius unto Brutus.

pose, and that you think this man hath done you great wron
but I assure you, you have taken a better booty than that y
followed. For instead of an enemy you have brought me
friend: and for my part, if you had brought me Brutus ali
truly I cannot tell what I should have done to him. For
had rather have such men my friends, as this man here, th
mine enemies." Then he embraced Lucilius, and at that ti
delivered him to one of his friends in custody; and Lucil
ever after served him faithfully, even to his death. Now Bru

Brutus flying.

having passed a little river, walled in on ev
side with high rocks and shadowed with great tre
being then dark night, he went no further,
stayed at the foot of a rock with certain of his captains a
friends that followed him: and looking up to the firmam
that was full of stars, sighing, he rehearsed two verses, of
which Volumnius wrote the one, to this effect:

Appian meaneth this by Antonius.

"Let not the wight from whom this mischief wei
O Jove, escape without due punishment:" —

and saith that he had forgotten the other. Within
little while after, naming his friends that he had seen s
in battle before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh than bef
specially when he came to name Labio and Flavius, of whom
one was his lieutenant, and the other captain of the pioners
his camp. In the meantime one of the company being ath
and seeing Brutus athirst also, he ran to the river for wa
and brought it in his sallet.° At the same time they hea
noise on the other side of the river: whereupon Volumnius
Dardanus, Brutus' servant, with him, to see what it was:
returning straight again, asked if there were any water
Brutus smiling, gently told him, "All is drunk, but they s
bring you some more." Thereupon he sent him again
went for water before, who was in great danger of being t
by the enemies, and hardly escaped, being sore hurt.

Furthermore, Brutus thought that there was no great number of men slain in battle: and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promised to go through his enemies, or otherwise it was impossible to go see their camp: and from thence, if all were well, that he would lift up a torch-light in the air, and then return again with speed to him. The torch-light was lift up as he had promised, for Statilius went thither. Now Brutus seeing Statilius tarry long after that, and that he came not again, he said: "If Statilius be alive, he will come again." But his evil fortune was such that, as he came back, he lighted in his enemies' hands and was slain. Now the night being far spent, Brutus as he sat bowed towards Clitus, one of his men, and told him somewhat in his ear: the other answered him not, but fell a-weeping. Thereupon he proved° Dardanus, and bid somewhat also to him: at length he came to Volumnius himself, and speaking to him in Greek, prayed him for the studies' sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would help him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others: and amongst the rest, one of them said, there was no tarrying for them there, but that they must needs fly. Then Brutus, rising up, "We must fly indeed," said he, "but it must be with our hands, not with our feet." Then taking every man by the hand, he said these words unto them with a cheerful countenance: "It rejoiceth my heart, that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complain of my fortune, but only for my country's sake: for as for me, I think myself happier than they that have overcome, considering that I leave a perpetual fame of virtue and honesty, the which our enemies the conquerors shall never attain unto by force or money; neither can let their posterity to say that they, being naughty and unjust men, have

The death of Statilius.

Brutus' saying of flying with hands, and not with feet.

slain good men, to usurp tyrannical power not pertaining them." Having so said, he prayed every man to shift for h self, and then he went a little aside with two or three o among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first quainted by the study of rhetoric. He came as near to as he could, and taking his sword by the hilt w both his hands, and falling down upon the p of it, ran himself through. Others say that he, but Strato (at his request) held the swor his hand, and turned his head aside, and t Brutus fell down upon it, and so ran him through, and died presently. Messala, that been Brutus' great friend, became afterwards Octavius Cæs friend: so, shortly after, Cæsar being at good leisure, brought Strato, Brutus' friend, unto him, and weeping sa "Cæsar, behold, here is he that did the last service to Brutus." Cæsar welcomed him at that time, afterwards he did him as faithful service in all affairs as any Grecian else he had about him, u the battle of Actium. It is reported also t this Messala himself answered Cæsar one when he gave him great praise before his f that he had fought valiantly and with g affection for him at the battle of Actium (notwithstanding t he had been his cruel enemy before, at the battle of lippes, for Brutus' sake): "I ever loved," said he, "to take best and justest part." Now Antonius having found Bru body, he caused it to be wrapped up in one of the richest c armours° he had. Afterwards also, Antonius understand that this coat-armour was stolen, he put the thief to death t had stolen it, and sent the ashes of his body unto Servilia mother. And for Porcia, Brutus' wife, Nico the Philosopher and Valerius Maximus° do wr that she, determining to kill herself (her pare

Brutus slew himself.

Strato, Brutus' familiar and friend.

Strato received into Cæsar's friendship.

Messala Corvinus, Brutus' friend.

Porcia, Brutus' wife, killed

d friends carefully looking to her to keep her om it), took hot burning coals and cast them to her mouth, and kept her mouth so close that e choked herself. There was a letter of Brutus found written his friends, complaining of their negligence, that, his wife ing sick, they would not help her, but suffered her to kill rself; choosing to die, rather than to languish in pain. Thus appeareth that Nicolaus knew not well that time, sith the ter (at the least if it were Brutus' letter) doth plainly declare e disease and love of this lady, and also the manner of her ath.

herself with burning coals.

HE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS

ANTONIUS' grandfather was that famous orator whom
rius slew because he took Sylla's part. His father was
ther Antonius surnamed Cretan,* who was so famous, nor bare any great sway in the nmonwealth: howbeit otherwise he was an nest man, and of a very good nature, and cially very liberal in giving, as appeareth by act he did. He was not very wealthy, and refore his wife would not let him use his liber-y and frank nature. One day a friend of his ning to him to pray him to help him to some ney, having great need, Antonius by chance had money to give him, but he commanded one of men to bring him some water in a silver basin; after he had brought it him, he washed his rd as though he meant to have shaven it, and then found an and for his man to send him out, and gave his friend the er basin, and bade him get him money with that. Shortly r, there was a great stir in the house among the servants, king out of this silver basin. Insomuch as Antonius, seeing wife marvellously offended for it, and that she would examine her servants one after another about it, to know what was me of it, at length he confessed he had given it away, and ed her to be contented. His wife was Julia, of the noble se and family of Julius Cæsar: who, for her virtue and

Antonius' parentage.

*** Because that by his death he ended the war which he unfortunately made against those of Creta.**

The liberality of Antonius' father.

chastity, was to be compared with the noblest lady of time. Marcus Antonius was brought up under her, b

Julia the mother of M. Antonius.

married after her first husband's death unto nelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death Cethegus and others, for that he was of Catil conspiracy against the Commonwealth. And seemeth to be the original cause and beginning of the cruel mortal hate Antonius bare unto Cicero. For Antonius self s that he° would never give him the body of his father-in-la bury him, before his mother went first to entreat Cicero's w the which undoubtedly was a flat lie. For Cicero denied b to none of them whom he executed by law.

Antonius corrupted by Curio.

Antonius being a fair young man, and in the p of his youth, he fell acquainted with Curio, w friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) a plague unto him. For he was a dissolute man, given ov all lust and insolency, who, to have Antonius the better a commandment, trained him on into great follies and vain penses upon women, in rioting and banqueting: so that in s time he brought Antonius into a marvellous great debt, an great for one of his years, to wit, of two hundred and talents,° for all which sum Curio was his surety. His fa hearing of it, did put his son from him, and forbad him house. Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the despera and most wicked tribunes at that time in Rome. Him followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred g stir and mischief in Rome: but at length he forsook him, b weary of his rashness and folly, or else for that he was a of them that were bent against Clodius.

Thereupon he left Italy, and went into Greece, and there

Antonius used in his pleading the Asiatic phrase.

stowed the most part of his time, sometime in v and otherwhile in the study of eloquence. He a manner of phrase in his speech called Asi which carried the best grace and estimatio

t time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it s full of ostentation, foolish bravery,° and vain ambition. ter he had remained there some time, Gabinius,° proconsul, ng into Syria, persuaded him to go with him; Antonius l him he would not go as a private man: erefore Gabinius gave him charge of his horse- n, and so took him with him. So, first of all sent him against Aristobulus, who had made Jews to rebel, and was the first man himself t got up to the wall of a castle of his, and so ve Aristobulus out of all his holds: and with se few men he had with him, he overcame all Jews in set battle, which were many against , and put all of them almost to the sword; furthermore, took Aristobulus himself prisoner h his son. Afterwards Ptolemy,° king of Egypt, t had been driven out of his country, went unto binius to intreat him to go with his army with into Egypt, to put him again into his kingdom: and mised him, if he would go with him, ten thousand talents. e most part of the captains thought it not best to go thither, Gabinius himself made it dainty to enter° into this war, nough the covetousness of these 10,000 talents stuck sorely h him. But Antonius, that sought but for opportunity and l occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also gratify Ptolemy's request, he went about to persuade Gabinius go this voyage. Now they were more afraid of the way they uld go, to come to the city of Pelusium,° than they feared danger of the war besides: because they were to pass ough deep sands and desert places, where was no fresh water e had all the marishes through, which are called the marishes bonides, which the Egyptians call the exhalations or fume, the which the giant Typhon breathed. But in truth it peareth to be the overflowing of the Red Sea, which breaketh

Antonius had charge of horsemen under Gabinius, proconsul, going into Syria.

Antonius acts against Aristobulus.

Antonius took Aristobulus prisoner.

out under the ground in that place where it is divided in
narrowest place from the sea on this side. So Antonius
Antonius' acts in Egypt under Gabinius. sent before into Egypt with his horsemen, whi
not only win that passage, but also took the
of Pelusium (which is a great city) with all
soldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the
and made it safe for all the rest of the army, and the hop
the victory also certain for his captain. Now did the ene
themselves feel the fruits of Antonius' courtesy, and the d
he had to win honour: for when Ptolemy (after he had ent
into the city of Pelusium), for the malice he bare unto
city, would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sw
Antonius withstood him, and by no means would suffer hi
do it. And in all other great battles and skirmishes w
they fought, being many in number, Antonius did many
acts of a valiant and wise captain: but specially in one ba
where he compassed in the enemies behind, giving them
victory that fought in front, whereby he afterwards had
honourable reward as his valiantness deserved. So was
Antonius' courtesy unto Archelaus being dead. great courtesy also much commended of all
which he shewed unto Archelaus°: for ha
been his very friend, he made war with
against his will while he lived; but after
death he fought for his body, and gave it honourable bu
For these respects he wan himself great fame of then
Alexandria, and he was also thought a worthy man
all the soldiers in the Romans' camp.
Antonius' shape and presence. besides all this, he had a noble presence,
shewed a countenance of one of a noble ho
he had a goodly thick beard, a broad foreh
crooked-nosed, and there appeared such a manly look in
countenance, as is commonly seen in Hercules' pict
stamped or graven in metal. Now it had been a speech
old time, that the family of the Antonii were descended

Anton the son of Hercules, whereof the family took name.
s opinion did Antonius seek to confirm in all his doings:
only resembling him in the likeness of his body,
we have said before, but also in the wearing of
garments. For when he would openly shew
nself abroad before many people, he would always
r his cassock° girt down low upon his hips,
h a great sword hanging by his side, and upon that, some
avoured cloak. Furthermore, things that seem intolerable
ther men, as to boast commonly, to jest with one or other,
drink like a good fellow with everybody, to sit with the
iers when they dine, and to eat and drink with them soldier-
, it is incredible what wonderful love it wan him amongst
n. And furthermore, being given to love, that made him
more desired, and by that means he brought many to love
. For he would further every man's love, and also would
be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he
d. But besides all this, that which most
ured his rising and advancement, was his
rality, who gave all to the soldiers, and kept
ning for himself: and when he was grown to great credit,
was his authority and power also very great, the which
withstanding himself did overthrow by a thousand other
ts he had. In this place I will shew you one example only
is wonderful liberality. He commanded one day his cofferer
kept his money, to give a friend of his five and twenty
iads,° which the Romans call in their tongue *decies*. His
erer marvelling at it, and being angry withal in his mind,
ught him all this money in a heap together, to shew him
t a marvellous mass of money it was. Antonius seeing it
e went by, asked what it was: the cofferer answered him,
was the money he willed him to give unto his friend."
n Antonius, perceiving the spite of his man, "I thought,"
he, "that *decies* had been a greater sum of money than it

The house of the Antonii descended from Hercules.

Antonius' liberality.

is, for this is but a trifle:" and therefore he gave his frien
much more another time, but that was afterwards.

Now the Romans maintaining two factions at Rome at
time, one against the other, of the which they that took
with the Senate did join with Pompey, being then in Ro
and the contrary side, taking part with the people, sent
Cæsar to aid them, who made wars in Gaul: then C
Antonius' friend, that had changed his garments, and at
time took part with Cæsar, whose enemy he had been be
he wan Antonius; and so handled the matter, partly thro
the great credit and sway he bare amongst the people
reason of his eloquent tongue, and partly also by his excee
expense of money he made which Cæsar gave

Antonius tribune of the people and augur.

that Antonius was chosen tribune, and afterw
made augur.° But this was a great help
furtherance to Cæsar's practices. For so
as Antonius became tribune, he did oppose himself aga
those things which the Consul Marcellus preferred (who
dained that certain legions which had been already levied
billed,° should be given unto Cneus Pompey, with further
mission and authority to levy others unto them), and set d
an order, that the soldiers which were already levied
assembled should be sent into Syria, for a new supply
Marcus Bibulus, who made war at that time against
Parthians. And further gave a prohibition that Pom
should levy no more men, and also that the soldiers should
obey him. Secondly, where Pompey's friends and follo
would not suffer Cæsar's letters to be received
openly read in the Senate, Antonius, having po

Antonius acts for Cæsar.

and warrant by his person, through the holine
his tribuneship, did read them openly, and m
divers men change their minds: for it appeared to them
Cæsar by his letters required no unreasonable matters.
length, when they preferred two matters of consideration

e Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey or Cæsar
ould leave their army, there were few of the senators that
ought it meet Pompey should leave his army, but they all in
nner commanded Cæsar to do it. Then Antonius rising up,
ked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Cæsar
th should leave their armies. Thereupon all the senators
intly together gave their whole consent, and with a great cry
mmending Antonius, they prayed him to refer it to the
dgment of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allow of
at. Therefore Cæsar's friends preferred other reasonable
mands and requests again, but Cato spake against them: and
ntulus, one of the Consuls, drave Antonius by force out of
e Senate, who at his going out made grievous
rses against him. After that, he took a slave's
wn, and speedily fled to Cæsar, with Quintus
assius, in a hired coach. When they came to
esar, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand
er head at Rome: for the Tribunes of the people might not
eak their minds; and were driven away in great danger of
eir lives, as many as stood with law and justice. Hereupon
esar went incontinently into Italy with his army, which made
cero say in his Philippides: "That, as Helen was cause of
e war of Troy, so was Antonius the author of the civil wars;"
nich indeed was a stark lie. For Cæsar was not
fickle-headed, nor so easily carried away with
ger, that he would so suddenly have gone and
ade war with his country, upon the sight only
Antonius and Cassius, being fled to him in miserable apparel,
d in a hired coach, had he not long before determined it with
mself. But sith indeed Cæsar looked of long time but for
me colour,° this came as he wished, and gave him just occa-
on of war. But to say truly, nothing else moved him to
ake war with all the world as he did, but one self cause
nich first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him,

Antonius flieth from Rome unto Cæsar.

Cicero reproved for lying.

to wit, an insatiable desire to reign, with a senseless cove
ness to be the best man in the world; the which he could
come unto, before he had first put down Po
and utterly overthrown him. Now after
Cæsar had gotten Rome at his commandment
had driven Pompey out of Italy, he purposed
to go into Spain against the legions Pompey
there, and in the meantime to make provisio
ships and marine preparation, to follow Pom
In his absence, he left Lepidus, that was Pr
governor of Rome; and Antonius, that was tri
he gave him charge of all the soldiers and of I
Then was Antonius straight marvellously
mended and beloved of the soldiers, because he
monly exercised himself among them, and w
oftentimes eat and drink with them, and also be liberal
them, according to his ability. But then in contrary ma
he purchased divers other men's evil wills, bec
that through negligence he would not do
justice that were injured, and dealt very c
ishly with them that had any suit unto him: and be
all this, he had an ill name to intice men's wives. To conc
Cæsar's friends, that governed under him, were cause why
hated Cæsar's government (which indeed in respect of hi
was no less than tyranny) by reason of the great insole
and outrageous parts that were committed: amongst w
Antonius, that was of greatest power, and that also comm
greatest faults, deserved most blame. But Cæsar, not
standing, when he returned from the wars of Spain, mad
reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him
contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a va
captain, he employed him in his chiefest affairs, and wa
whit deceived in his opinion of him.

So he passed over the Ionian sea unto Brundusium, h

Alexander, Cyrus, and Cæsar, all contended to reign.

Cæsar's ambition the only cause of the civil war.

Cæsar gave the charge of Italy unto Antonius.

Antonius' vices.

ut slenderly accompanied, and sent unto Antonius and Gabi-
ius, that they should imbark their men as soon as they could,
nd pass them over into Macedon. Gabinius was afraid to
ake the sea, because it was very rough, and in the winter time:
nd therefore fetched a great compass° about by land. But
ntonius, fearing some danger might come unto Cæsar, because
e was compassed in with a great number of enemies, first of
ll he drave away Libo, who rode at anchor with a great army
efore the haven of Brundusium. For he manned out such a
umber of pinnaces, barks, and other small boats about every
ne of his galleys, that he drave him thence.
fter that, he imbarked into ships 20,000 foot-
en, and 800 horsemen, and with this army he
oised sail. When the enemies saw him, they
ade out to follow him: but the sea rose so high,
hat the billows put back their galleys that they
ould not come near him, and so he scaped that
anger. But withal he fell upon the rocks with his whole
eet, where the sea wrought very high, so that he was out of all
ope to save himself. Yet, by good fortune, suddenly the wind
urned south-west, and blew from the gulf, driving the waves
f the river into the main sea. Thus Antonius, loosing from
he land, and sailing with safety at his pleasure, soon after he
aw all the coasts full of shipwracks. For the force and boister-
usness of the wind did cast away the galleys that followed
im: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted,
nd divers also cast away; and Antonius took a great number
f them prisoners, with a great sum of money also. Besides all
hese, he took the city of Lyssus, and brought Cæsar a great
upply of men, and made him courageous, coming at a pinch
ith so great a power to him. Now there were divers hot
kirmishes and encounters, in the which Antonius
ought so valiantly, that he carried the praise
rom them all: but specially at two several times,

Antonius taketh sea with his army at Brundusium, and goeth unto Cæsar.

Antonius' manhood in war.

when Cæsar's men turned their backs, and fled for life. F
he stepped before them, and compelled them to return aga
to fight: so that the victory fell on Cæsar's side. F
this cause he had the second place in the camp among t
soldiers, and they spake of no other man unto Cæsar, but
him: who shewed plainly what opinion he had of him, wh
at the last battle of Pharsalia (which indeed was the last tri
of all, to give the conqueror the whole empire of the world)
himself did lead the right wing of his army, a
gave Antonius the leading of the left wing, as t
valiantest man and skilfullest soldier of all tho
he had about him. After Cæsar had won the v
tory, and that he was created Dictator, he follow
Pompey step by step: howbeit, before, he nam
Antonius general of the horsemen, and sent him
Rome. The general of the horsemen is the seco
office of dignity, when the Dictator is in the cit
but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest man, a
almost the only man that remaineth, and all t
other officers and magistrates are put down, after there is
Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella, being at th
time tribune, and a young man desirous of change and innov
tion, he preferred° a law which the Romans call *Novas tabu*
(as much to say, as a cutting off and cancelling of all obli
tions and specialities; and were called *New tables*, because th
were driven then to make books of daily receipt and expens
and persuaded Antonius his friend (who also gaped° for a g
occasion to please and gratify the common people) to aid him
pass this law. But Trebellius and Asinius dissuaded fr
it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced t
Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of his wife, a
took such a conceit of it, that he thrust his wife out of
house, being his cousin-german, and the daughter of C. An
nius, who was Consul with Cicero; and joining with Asini

Antonius led the left wing of Cæsar's battle at Pharsalia, where Pompey lost the field.

The dignity of the general of the horsemen.

e resisted Dolabella, and fought with him. Dolabella had otten the market-place, where the people do assemble in ouncil, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to have this law of the New Tables to pass y force. Antonius, by commandment of the enate, who had given him authority to levy men nd to use force against Dolabella, went against him, and ught so valiantly, that men were slain on both sides.

Dissension betwixt Antonius and Dolabella.

But by this means he got the ill will of the common people; nd on the other side, the noblemen (as Cicero saith) did not nly mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for ey did abhor his banquets and drunken feasts he made at nseasonable times, and his extreme wasteful expenses upon in light huswives; and then in the day-time he would sleep walk out his drunkenness, thinking to wear away the fume of e abundance of wine which he had taken over ght. In his house they did nothing but feast, nce, and mask: and himself passed away the me in hearing of foolish plays, and in marrying ese players, tumblers, jesters, and such sort of people. As r proof hereof it is reported, that at Hippias' marriage, one his jesters, he drank wine so lustily all night, that the next orning, when he came to plead before the people assembled in uncil, who had sent for him, he being queasy-stomached with s surfeit he had taken, was compelled to lay up l before them, and one of his friends held him s gown instead of a basin. He had another easant player called Sergius, that was one of the iefest men about him, and a woman also called rtheride, of the same profession, whom he loved arly: he carried her up and down in a litter to all the towns he went, and had as many men waiting upon r litter (she being but a player) as were attending upon his n mother. It grieved honest men also very much to see

Antonius' abominable life.

Antonius laid up his stomach before the whole assembly.

Antonius' insolency.

that, when he went into the country, he carried with him great number of cupboards full of silver and gold plate open in the face of the world, as it had been the pomp or shew some triumph: and that oftsoons" in the middest of his journ he would set up his hale" and tents hard by some green grove pleasant river, and there his cooks should prepare him a sum tuous dinner. And furthermore, lions were harnessed in trai to draw his carts: and besides also, in honest men's houses, the cities where he came, he would have common harlo courtesans, and these tumbling gillots" lodged. Now it griev men much to see that Cæsar should be out of Italy followi of his enemies, to end this great war with such great peril a danger, and that others in the mean time, abusing his na and authority, should commit such insolent and outrageo parts upon their citizens. This methinks was the cause th made the conspiracy against Cæsar increase more and more, a laid the reins of the bridle upon the soldiers' necks, where they durst more boldly commit many extortions, cruelties, a robberies. And therefore Cæsar after his return pardon Dolabella, and being created Consul the third time, he took n

Cæsar and Lepidus, consuls.

Antonius, but chose Lepidus his collegue a follow consul. Afterwards when Pompey's hou was put to open sale, Antonius bought it: b when they asked him money for it, he made very strange," and was offended with them; a writeth himself that he would not go with Cæs into the wars of Africa, because he was not well recompens for the service he had done him before. Yet Cæsar did som what bridle his madness and insolency, not suffering him to pu his faults so lightly away, making as though he saw them n

Antonius buyeth Pompey's house.

Antonius married Fulvia, Clodius' widow.

And therefore he left his dissolute manner of li and married Fulvia that was Clodius' widow, woman not so basely minded to spend her time spinning and housewifery; and was not content

o master her husband at home, but would also rule him in
is office abroad, and commanded him that commanded legions
nd great armies: so that Cleopatra was to give
'ulvia thanks for that she had taught Antonius
his obedience to women, that learned so well to be
t their commandment. Now, because Fulvia was
omewhat sour and crooked of condition,° Antonius
evised to make her pleasanter, and somewhat better disposed:
nd therefore he would play her many pretty youthful parts to
nake her merry. As he did once, when Cæsar returned the
ast time of all conqueror out of Spain, every man went out to
neet him, and so did Antonius with the rest. But on the
udden there ran a rumour through Italy, that Cæsar was dead,
nd that his enemies came again with a great army. Thereupon
e returned with speed to Rome, and took one of his men's
owns, and so apparelled came home to his house in a dark
ight, saying, that he had brought Fulvia letters from Antonius.
So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for°
eing known: but she, taking the matter heavily, asked him
f Antonius were well. Antonius gave her the letters, and said
ever a word. So when she had opened the letters, and began
o read them, Antonius ramped° on her neck, and kissed her.
We have told you this tale for example's sake only, and so
ould we also tell you of many such like as these.

Fulvia ruled Antonius at home and abroad.

Now when Cæsar was returned from his last war in Spain,
ll the chiefest nobility of the city rode many days journey
rom Rome to meet him, where Cæsar made marvellous much
f Antonius above all the men that came unto him. For he
lways took him into his coach with him throughout all Italy,
nd behind him Brutus Albinus and Octavius the son of his
iece, who afterwards was called Cæsar, and became Emperor
f Rome long time after. So Cæsar being afterwards chosen
Consul the fift time, he immediately chose Antonius his col
eague and companion; and desired, by deposing himself of

his consulship, to make Dolabella Consul in his room, and already moved it to the senate. But Antonius did sto withstand it, and openly reviled Dolabella in Senate, and Dolabella also spared him as li Thereupon Cæsar being ashamed of the matter let it alone. Another time also, when Cæsar tempted again to substitute Dolabella Consul in his pl Antonius cried out, that the signs of the birds were aga it: so that at length Cæsar was compelled to give him pl and to let Dolabella alone, who was marvellously offended v him. Now in truth Cæsar made no great reckoning of ei of them both. For it is reported that Cæsar answered that did accuse Antonius and Dolabella unto him for s matter of conspiracy: "Tush," said he, "they be not those fellows and fine combed men that I fear, but I mistrust ra these pale and lean men," meaning by° Brutus and Cass who afterwards conspired his death and slew him. Anton unawares, afterwards gave Cæsar's enemies occasion and colour to do as they did: as shall hear. The Romans by chance celebr the feast called Lupercalia, and Cæsar, b apparelled in his triumphing robe, was set in Tribune where they use to make their oration the people, and from thence did behold the s of the runners. The manner of this running was thus. that day there are many young men of noble house, and t specially that be chief officers for that year, who running na up and down the city, anointed with the oil of olive, for p ure do strike them they meet in their way with white lea thongs they have in their hands. Antonius, being one an the rest that was to run, leaving the ancient ceremonies old customs of that solemnity, he ran to the tribune w Cæsar was set, and carried a laurel crown in his hand, ha a royal band or diadem wreathed about it, which in old

Cæsar and Antonius, consuls.

Antonius unwittingly gave Cæsar's enemies occasion to conspire against him.

as the ancient mark and token of a king. When he was come
Cæsar, he made his fellow-runners with him lift him up, and
he did put his laurel crown upon his° head, signifying thereby that he had deserved to be king. But Cæsar, making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The people were so rejoiced at that they all clapped their hands for joy. Antonius again did put it on his head: Cæsar again refused it; and thus they were striving off and on a great while together. As oft as Antonius did put this laurel crown unto him, a few of his followers rejoiced at it: and as oft also as Cæsar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderful thing, that they suffered all things subjects should do by commandment of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the utter destruction of their liberty. Cæsar, in a rage, arose out of his seat, and plucking down the collar of his gown from his neck, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike off his head that would. This laurel crown was afterwards put upon the head of one of Cæsar's statues or images, whereupon one of the tribunes plucked off. The people liked his doing therein so well, that they waited on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Cæsar did turn them out of their offices for it.

Antonius Lupercian putteth the diadem upon Cæsar's head.

This was a good encouragement for Brutus and Cassius to conspire his death, who fell into a consort° with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise, but yet stood doubtful whether they should make Antonius privy to it or not. All the rest liked of it, saving Trebonius only. He told them that, when they rode to meet Cæsar at his return out of Spain, Antonius and he always keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind afar off: but Antonius, finding his meaning, would hearken no more unto it, and yet notwithstanding

Brutus and Cassius conspire Cæsar's death.

never made Cæsar acquainted with this talk, but had faithfu
kept it to himself. After that, they consulted whether t
should kill Antonius with Cæsar. But Bru
would in no wise consent to it, saying, that v
turing on such an enterprise as that, for
maintenance of law and justice, it ought to
clear from all villany. Yet they, fearing Anton
power, and the authority of his office, appointed certain of
conspiracy, that when Cæsar were gone into the senate,
while others should execute their enterprise, they should k
Antonius in a talk out of the senate-house. Even as they
devised these matters, so were they executed: and Cæsar
slain in the middest of the Senate. Antonius being put i
fear withal, cast a slave's gown upon him, and hid hims
But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers s
no man else, and that they went only into the Capitol, he s
his son unto them for a pledge, and bade them boldly co
down upon his word. The selfsame day he did bid Cassius
supper, and Lepidus also bade Brutus. The next morning
senate was assembled, and Antonius himself preferred a l
that all things past should be forgotten, and that they sho
appoint provinces unto Cassius and Brutus: the which
senate confirmed, and further ordained, that they should ca
none of Cæsar's laws. Thus went Antonius out of the sen
more praised and better esteemed than ever man was, beca
it seemed to every man that he had cut off all occasion of c
wars, and that he had shewed himself a marvellous v
governor of the commonwealth, for the appeasing of these n
ters of so great weight and importance. But now, the opin
he conceived of himself after he had a little felt the good-
of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make himself
chiefest man if he might overcome Brutus, did easily make
alter his first mind. And therefore, when Cæsar's body
brought to the place where it should be buried, he mad

Consultation about the murther of Antonius with Cæsar.

neral oration in commendation of Cæsar, according to the
cient custom of praising noble men at their funerals. When
e saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to
ar Cæsar spoken of, and his praises uttered, he mingled his
ation with lamentable words; and by amplifying of matters
l greatly move their hearts and affections unto pity and com-
ssion. In fine, to conclude his oration, he unfolded before
e whole assembly the bloody garments of the dead, thrust
rough in many places with their swords, and called the
alefactors cruel and cursed murtherers. With
ese words he put the people into such a fury,
at they presently took Cæsar's body, and burnt
in the market-place, with such tables and forms
they could get together. Then when the fire
s kindled, they took firebrands, and ran to the
urtherers' houses to set them on fire, and to
ake them come out to fight. Brutus therefore and his accom-
ices, for safety of their persons, were driven to fly the city.
hen came all Cæsar's friends unto Antonius, and
ecially his wife Calpurnia, putting her trust in
m, she brought the most part of her money into
s house, which amounted to the sum of 4000 talents; and
rthermore brought him all Cæsar's books and writings, in the
hich were his memorials of all that he had done and ordained.
ntonius did daily mingle with them such as he thought good,
d by that means he created new officers, made new senators,
lled home some that were banished, and delivered those that
ere prisoners: and then he said, that all those
ings were so appointed and ordained by Cæsar.
herefore the Romans, mocking them that were
moved, they called them Charonites, because
at, when they were overcome, they had no other
lp but to say, that thus they were found in
æsar's memorials, who had sailed in Charon's°

Antonius maketh uproar among the people, for the murther of Cæsar.

Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife.

Charonites, why so called.

M. Antonius Consul, Caius Antonius Prætor,

Lucius Antonius Tribune; all three brethren.

boat, and was departed. Thus Antonius ru absolutely also in all other matters, because was Consul, and Caius, one of his brethr Prætor, and Lucius the other, Tribune.

Now things remaining in this state at Rome, Octav Cæsar the younger came to Rome, who was the son of Jul Cæsar's niece, as you have heard before, and was left his la ful heir by will, remaining, at the time of the death of his gr uncle that was slain, in the city of Apollonia. This you man at his first arrival went to salute Antonius, as one his late dead father Cæsar's friends, who by his last will a testament had made him his heir; and withal, he was presen in hand with him for money and other things which were l of trust in his hands; because Cæsar had by will bequeath unto the people of Rome threescore and fifteen silver drachm to be given to every man, the which he as heir stood charg withal. Antonius at the first made no reckoning of hi because he was very young, and said he lacked wit and go friends to advise him, if he looked to take such a charge

Variance betwixt Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, heir unto Julius Cæsar.

hand, as to undertake to be Cæsar's heir. H when Antonius saw that he could not shake h off with those words, and that he was still hand° with him for his father's goods, but specia for the ready money, then he spake and did wh he could against him. And first of all, it was that did keep him from being Tribune of t people: and also, when Octavius Cæsar began to meddle w the dedicating of the chair of gold, which was prepared by t senate to honour Cæsar with, he threatened to send him prison, and moreover desisted not to put the people in an u

Octavius Cæsar joined in friendship with Cicero.

roar. This young Cæsar, seeing his doings, we unto Cicero and others, which were Antoni enemies, and by them crept into favour with t senate: and he himself sought the people's go

ill every manner of way, gathering together the old soldiers f the late deceased Cæsar, which were dispersed in divers ities and colonies. Antonius, being afraid of it, alked with Octavius in the Capitol, and became is friend. But the very same night Antonius ad a strange dream, who thought that lightning ell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly fter word was brought him, that Cæsar lay in ait to kill him. Cæsar cleared himself unto him, and told im there was no such matter: but he could not make ntonius believe to the contrary. Whereupon they became rther enemies than ever they were: insomuch that both f them made friends of either side to gather together all ne old soldiers through Italy, that were dispersed in divers owns: and made them large promises, and sought also to win ne legions on their side, which were already in arms. Cicero n the other side, being at that time the chiefest man of uthority and estimation in the city, he stirred up all men gainst Antonius: so that in the end he made the enate pronounce him an enemy to his country, nd appointed young Cæsar sergeants to carry xes before him, and such other signs as were cident to the dignity of a Consul or Prætor: and oreover, sent Hircius° and Pansa, then Consuls, drive Antonius out of Italy. These two Consuls, together with Cæsar, who also had an army, went against ntonius that besieged the city of Modena, and there overrew him in battle: but both the Consuls were slain there. Antonius, flying upon this overthrow, fell into great misery l at once: but the chiefest want of all other, and at pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he as of such a strong nature, that by patience he ould overcome any adversity: and the heavier rtune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he

Antonius and Octavius became friends.

Antonius' dream.

Antonius judged an enemy by the Senate.

Hircius and Pansa Consuls.

Antonius overthrown in battle by the city of Modena.

himself. Every man that feeleth want or adversity, kno
eth by virtue and discretion what he should do: but wh
indeed they are overlaid with extremity, and
sore oppressed, few have the hearts to foll
that which they praise and commend, and mu
less to avoid that they reprove and mislike: b
rather to the contrary, they yield to their accustomed ea
life, and through faint heart, and lack of courage, do char
their first mind and purpose. And therefore
was a wonderful example to the soldiers, to
Antonius, that was brought up in all fineness a
superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, a
to eat wild fruits and roots: and moreover
is reported, that even as they passed the Alp
they did eat the barks of trees, and such beas
as never man tasted of their flesh before. Now th
intent was to join with the legions that were on the other si
of the mountains, under Lepidus' charge: whom Antoni
took to be his friend, because he had holpen him to ma
things at Cæsar's hand, through his means. When he w
come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard
him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put h
in any hope, he determined to venter° himself, and to go un
Lepidus. Since the overthrow he had at Modena, he suffered
beard to grow at length and never clipt it, that it was marvello
long, and the hair of his head also without combing: a
besides all this, he went in a mourning gown, and after t
sort came hard° to the trenches of Lepidus' camp. Then
began to speak unto the soldiers, and many of them th
hearts yearned for pity to see him so poorly arrayed, and so
also, through his words, began to pity him: insomuch th
Lepidus began to be afraid, and therefore commanded all t
trumpets to sound together to stop the soldiers' ears, that th
should not hearken to Antonius. This notwithstanding, t

Antonius patient in adversity.

Antonius' hardness in adversity, notwithstanding his fine bringing up.

oldiers took the more pity of him, and spake secretly with him
y Clodius' and Lælius' means, whom they sent unto him disguised
n women's apparel, and gave him counsel that he should not
e afraid to enter into their camp, for there were a great
umber of soldiers that would receive him, and kill Lepidus, if
e would say the word. Antonius would not suffer them to
urt him, but the next morning he went with his army to
ade a ford, at a little river that ran between them: and him-
elf was the foremost man that took the river to get over, see-
ng a number of Lepidus' camp, that gave him their hands,
lucked up the stakes, and laid flat the bank of their trench
o let him into their camp. When he was come
nto their camp, and that he had all the army at
is commandment, he used Lepidus very courte-
usly, embraced him, and called him father: and
hough indeed Antonius did all, and ruled the whole army, yet
e alway gave Lepidus the name and honour of the captain.
Munacius Plancus, lying also in camp hard by with an army,
nderstanding the report of Antonius' courtesy, he also came
nd joined with him.

Antonius won all Lepidus' army from him.

Thus Antonius being afoot again, and grown of great power,
passed over the Alps, leading into Italy with him seventeen
gions, and ten thousand horsemen, besides six
gions he left in garrison among the Gauls, under
ne charge of one Varius, a companion of his that
ould drink lustily with him, and therefore in
ockery was surnamed Cotylon, to wit, a bibber. So Octavius
æsar would not lean to Cicero, when he saw that his whole
avell° and endeavour was only to restore the com-
onwealth to her former liberty. Therefore he
nt certain of his friends to Antonius, to make
em friends again: and thereupon all three met
gether (to wit, Cæsar,° Antonius, and Lepidus)
an iland environed round about with a

Varius surnamed Cotylon.

The conspiracy and meeting of Cæsar, Antonius, and Lepidus.

little river, and there remained three days together. Now touching all other matters they were easily agreed, and did div all the empire of Rome between them, as if it had been th own inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom th would put to death: for every one of them would kill th enemies, and save their kinsmen and friends. Yet at leng giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their e mies, they spurned all reverence of blood and holiness of frie

The proscription of the Triumviri.

ship at their feet. For Cæsar left Cicero Antonius' will, Antonius also forsook Luc Cæsar, who was his uncle by his mother: and b of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his o brother Paulus. Yet some writers affirm, that Cæsar a Antonius requested Paulus might be slain, and that Lepi was contented with it. In my opinion there was ne a more horrible, unnatural, and crueller change than this w For thus changing murther for murther, they did as w kill those whom they did forsake and leave unto others, those also which others left unto them to kill: but so mu more was their wickedness and cruelty great unto their frien for that they put them to death being innocents, and hav no cause to hate them. After this plot was agreed upon tween them, the soldiers that were thereabouts would have friendship and league betwixt them confirmed by marriage, a that Cæsar should marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulv Antonius' wife. This marriage also being agreed upon, th condemned 300 of the chiefest citizens of Rome to be put death by proscription. And Antonius also commanded them

Antonius' cruelty unto Cicero.

whom he had given commission to kill Cic that they should strike off his head and ri hand, with the which he had written the invect orations (called *Philippides*) against Antoni So when the murtherers brought him Cicero's head and ha cut off, he beheld them a long time with great joy, and laugh

artily, and that oftentimes, for the great joy he felt. Then
ien he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused
em to be set up in an open place, over the pulpit for orations
here, when he was alive, he had often spoken to the people),
if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his
n fortune, shewing himself (to his great shame and infamy)
ruel man, and unworthy the office and authority he bare.
is uncle Lucius Cæsar also, as they sought for him to kill
n and followed him hard, fled unto his sister. The murder-
s coming thither, forcing to break into her chamber, she
ood at her chamber-door with her arms abroad,
ing out still: "You shall not kill Lucius
esar, before you first kill me, that bare your
ptain in my womb." By this means she saved
r brother's life. Now the government of these
iumviri grew odious and hateful to the Romans,
r divers respects: but they most blamed Antonius,
cause he, being elder than Cæsar, and of more power and
ce than Lepidus, gave himself again to his former riot and
cess, when he left to deal in the affairs of the common-
alth. But setting aside the ill name he had for his insolency,
was yet much more hated in respect of the house
dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the
eat, a man as famous for his temperance, modesty,
d civil life, as for his three triumphs. For it grieved
em to see the gates commonly shut against the captains, magis-
ates of the city, and also ambassadors of strange nations, which
re sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that
e house within was full of tumblers, antic dancers, jugglers,
ayers, jesters, and drunkards, quaffing and guzzling; and
at on them he bestowed the most part of his money he got
all kind of possible extortions, bribery, and policy.° For
ey did not only sell by the crier the goods of those whom
ey had outlawed and appointed to murder, slanderously

Lucius Cæsar's life saved by his sister.

Antonius' riot in his Triumvirate.

The praise of Pompey the Great.

deceived the poor widows and young orphans, and also rai
all kinds of imposts, subsidies, and taxes, but understand
also that the holy Vestal nuns had certain goods and mo
put in their custody to keep, both of men's in the city and th
also that were abroad, they went thither and took them av
by force.

Octavius Cæsar perceiving that no money would serve An
nius' turn, he prayed that they might divide the money betw
them; and so did they also divide the army, for them both
go into Macedon to make war against Brutus and Cassius:
in the mean time they left the government of the city of Ro
unto Lepidus. When they had passed over the seas, and t
they began to make war, they being both camped by their e
mies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Cæsar against Brut
Cæsar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the up

The valiantness of Antonius against Brutus.

hand, and did all. For at the first battle Ca
was overthrown by Brutus, and lost his camp,
very hardly saved himself by flying from them t
followed him. Howbeit, he writeth himself in
Commentaries, that he fled before the charge
given, because of a dream one of his friends had. Antonius
the other side overthrew Cassius in battle, though some w
that he was not there himself at the battle, but that he ca
after the overthrow, whilst his men had the enemies in ch

The death of Cassius.

So Cassius, at his earnest request, was slain b
faithful servant of his own called Pindarus, wh
he had enfranchised: because he knew not in t
that Brutus had overcome Cæsar. Shortly after they fou
another battle again, in the which Brutus was overthro
who afterwards also slew himself. Thus Antonius had
chiefest glory of this victory, specially because Cæsar was

Brutus slew himself.

at that time. Antonius having found Brutus' h
after this battle, blaming him much for the r
ther of his brother Caius, whom he had pu

ath in Macedon for revenge of Cicero's cruel death, and yet ving the fault more in Hortensius than in him, he made Hor- sius to be slain on his brother's tomb. Furthermore he cast s coat armour (which was wonderful rich and sumptuous) upon utus' body, and gave commandment to one of s slaves enfranchised, to defray the charge of s burial. But afterwards Antonius hearing at his enfranchised boudman had not burnt s coat-armour with his body, because it was ry rich and worth a great sum of money, and that he had o kept back much of the ready money appointed for his neral and tomb, he also put him to death.

Antonius gave honourable burial unto Brutus.

After that, Cæsar was conveyed to Rome, and it was thought would not live long, nor escape the sickness he had. Anto- us on the other side went towards the east provinces and re- ons to levy money: and first of all he went into Greece, and rried an infinite number of soldiers with him. Now, because ery soldier was promised five thousand silver drachmas, he s driven of necessity to impose extreme tallages° and taxa- ns. At his first coming into Greece, he was not hard nor ter unto the Grecians, but gave himself only to hear wise n dispute, to see plays, and also to note the ceremonies and crifices of Greece, ministering justice to every man: and it eased him marvellously to hear them call him ilellen (as much to say, a lover of the Grecians), l specially the Athenians, to whom he did many eat pleasures. Wherefore the Megarians, to ex- d the Athenians, thinking to shew Antonius a goodly sight, y prayed him to come and see their senate-house and council- ll. Antonius went thither to see it. So when he had seen at his pleasure, they asked him: "My lord, how like you r hall?" "Me thinks," quoth he, "it is little, old, and ready fall down." Furthermore he took measure of the temple of ollo Pythias, and promised the senate to finish it. But when

Antonius' great courtesy in Greece.

he was once come into Asia, having left Lucius Censorinus g
ernor in Greece, and that he had felt the riches and pleas
of the east parts, and that princes, great lords, and kings, c
to wait at his gate for his coming out: and that queens
princesses, to excel one another, gave him very rich prese
and came to see him, curiously setting forth themselves,
using all art that might be to shew their beauty, to win
favour the more (Cæsar in the mean space turmoiling his
and body in civil wars at home, Antonius living merrily
quietly abroad), he easily fell again to his old licentious
For straight, one Anaxenor, a player of the cithern,° Xoutu
player of the flute, Metrodorus a tumbler, and such a rabble
minstrels and fit ministers for the pleasures of Asia (who
fineness and flattery passed all the other plag
he brought with him out of Italy), all th
flocked in his court, and bare the whole sw
and after that all went awry. For every
gave themselves to riot and excess, when they saw he
lighted in it: and all Asia was like to the city Sophoc
speaketh of in one of his tragedies:

The plagues of Italy, in riot.

> Was full of sweet perfumes and pleasant songs,
> With woeful weeping mingled there-amongs.

For in the city of Ephesus, women, attired as they go in
feasts and sacrifice of Bacchus, came out to meet him w
such solemnities and ceremonies as are then used: with
and children disguised like fauns and satyrs. Moreover,
city was full of ivy, and darts wreathed about with ivy, p
terions,° flutes, and howboyes°; and in their songs they ca
him Bacchus, father of mirth, courteous and gentle: and
was he unto some, but to the most part of men cruel
extreme. For he robbed noblemen and gentlem
of their goods, to give it unto vile flatterers:
oftentimes begged living men's goods, as tho

Antonius' cruelty in Asia.

y had been dead, and would enter their houses by force. he gave a citizen's house of Magnesia° unto a cook, ause (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. In end he doubled the taxation, and imposed a second n Asia. But then Hybræas the orator, sent n the estates of Asia, to tell him the state of ir country, boldly said unto him: "If thou t have power to lay two tributes in one year n us, thou shouldest also have power to give wo summers, two autumns, and two harvests." s was gallantly and pleasantly spoken unto onius by the orator, and it pleased him well to r it: but afterwards, amplifying his speech, he spake more lly, and to better purpose: "Asia hath paid thee two hundred usand talents. If all this money be not come to thy coffers, n ask account of them that levied it: but if thou have re- ed it, and nothing be left of it, then are we utterly undone." bræas' words nettled Antonius roundly. For he understood of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his hority, in his treasure and affairs: not so much because he careless, as for that he over simply trusted his n in all things. For he was a plain man, with- subtilty, and therefore over late found out the faults they committed against him: but when he heard of n, he was much offended, and would plainly confess it unto m whom his officers had done injury unto by countenance is authority. He had a noble mind, as well to punish nders as to reward well-doers: and yet he did exceed more giving than in punishing. Now for his outra- us manner of railing he commonly used, mock- and flouting of every man, that was remedied itself; for a man might as boldly exchange a mock with , and he was as well contented to be mocked as to mock ers: but yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that

Hybræas' words unto Antonius touching their great payments of money unto him.

Antonius' simplicity.

Antonius' manners.

those which told him so plainly and truly in mirth, would not flatter him in good earnest in any matters of weight. But th he was easily abused" by the praises they gave him, not fin ing how these flatterers mingled their flattery under this fam iar and plain manner of speech unto him, as a fine device make difference of meats with sharp and tart sauce; and a to keep him by this frantic" jesting and bourding" with him the table, that their common flattery should not be troul some unto him, as men do easily mislike to have too much one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, wh they would give him place in any matter of weight and follo his counsel, that it might not appear to him they did it much to please him, but because they were ignorant, a understood not so much as he did.

Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extremest m chief of all other (to wit, the love of Cleopatra) lighted on hi who did waken and stir up many vices yet hidden in hi and were never seen to any: and if any spark of goodness hope of rising were left him, Cleopatra quenched it straigh and made it worse than before. The manner how he fell love with her was this. Antonius, going to ma war with the Parthians, sent to command Cle patra to appear personally before him when came into Cilicia, to answer unto such accusatio as were laid against her, being this: that she h aided Cassius and Brutus in their war against him. T messenger sent unto Cleopatra, to make this summons unto h was called Dellius; who when he had throughly considere her beauty, the excellent grace and sweetness of her tongu he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would do any hurt to noble a lady, but rather assured himself, that within few da she should be in great favour with him. Thereupon he did h great honour, and persuaded her to come into Cilicia, as he ourably furnished as she could possible; and bad her not to

Antonius' love to Cleopatra, whom he sent for into Cilicia.

aid at all of Antonius, for he was a more courteous lord
n any that she had ever seen. Cleopatra on the other
e, believing Dellius' words, and guessing by the former
ess and credit she had with Julius Cæsar and C. Pompey
e son of Pompey the Great) only for her beauty, she began
have good hope that she might more easily win Antonius.
r Cæsar and Pompey knew her when she was but a young
ng, and knew not then what the world meant: but now
went to Antonius at the age when a woman's beauty is at
prime, and she also of best judgment. So she furnished°
self with a world of gifts, store of gold and silver, and of
hes and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough
might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthy
l rich a realm as Egypt was. But yet she carried nothing
h her wherein she trusted more than in herself, and in the
arms and enchantment of her passing beauty and grace.
erefore, when she was sent unto by divers
ters, both from Antonius himself and also
m his friends, she made so light of it, and
cked Antonius so much, that she disdained to
forward otherwise, but to take her barge in
river of Cydnus°; the poop whereof was of
d, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver,
ich kept stroke in rowing after the sound of
music of flutes, howboys, citherns, viols, and such other
truments as they played upon in the barge. And now for
person of her self, she was laid under a pavilion of cloth of
d of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus,
mmonly drawn in picture: and hard by her, on either hand
her, pretty fair boys apparelled as painters do set forth god
pid, with little fans in their hands, with the which they fanned
d upon her. Her ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest
them, were apparelled like the nymphs Nereids (which are
mermaids of the waters) and like the Graces; some steer-

The wonderful sumptuousness of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, going unto Antonius.

Cydnus fl.

ing the helm, others tending the tackle and ropes of the b
out of the which there came a wonderful passing sweet sa
of perfumes, that perfumed the wharf's side, pestered°
innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed
barge all along the river-side: others also ran out of the
to see her coming in. So that in the end, there ran such
titudes of people one after another so see her, that Anto
was left post alone in the market-place, in his imperial
to give audience: and there went a rumour in the peo
mouths, that the goddess Venus was come to play with
god Bacchus, for the general good of all Asia. When C
patra landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper to
But she sent him word again, he should do better rathe
come and sup with her. Antonius therefor
shew himself courteous unto her at her arr
was contented to obey her, and went to supp
her: where he found such passing sumpt
fare, that no tongue can express it. But amo
all other things, he most wondered at the
finite number of lights and torches hanged
the top of the house, giving light in every place, so artific
set and ordered by devices, some round, some square: tha
was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discern, or that
books could mention. The next night Antonius, feasting
contended to pass her in magnificence and fineness: but
overcame him in both. So that he himself began to scorn
gross service of his house, in respect of Cleopatra's sumptu
ness and fineness. And when Cleopatra found Antonius'
and slents° to be but gross and soldier-like, in plain mar
she gave it him finely, and without fear taunted him throug

The sumptuous preparations of the suppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Cleopatra's beauty.

Now her beauty (as it is reported) was no
passing as unmatchable of other women, nor
such as upon present view did enamour men
her: but so sweet was her company and conversation, th

an could not possibly but be taken. And besides her beauty, e good grace she had to talk and discourse, her courteous ature that tempered her words and deeds, was a spur that icked to the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice d words were marvellous pleasant: for her tongue was an strument of music to divers sports and pastimes, the which e easily turned into any language that pleased her. She ake unto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made em answer her self, or at the least the most part of them: the Æthiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes,° the Hebrews, e Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others so, whose languages she had learned. Whereas divers of r progenitors, the kings of Egypt, could scarce learn the gyptian tongue only, and many of them forgot to speak the acedonian.

Now Antonius was so ravished with the love of Cleopatra, at though his wife Fulvia had great wars, and much ado th Cæsar for his affairs, and that the army of the Parthians e which the king's lieutenants had given to the only leading Labienus) was now assembled in Mesopotamia, ready to in- de Syria; yet (as though all this had nothing touched him) yielded himself to go with Cleopatra unto Alexandria, where spent and lost in childish sports (as a man might say) and e pastimes, the most precious thing a man can spend (as ntiphon° saith), and that is, time. For they de an order between them, which they called *synamotobion* (as much to say, no life comparle and matchable with it), one feasting each er by turns, and in cost exceeding all measure l reason. And for proof hereof, I have heard my grandher Lampryas report, that one Philotas, a physician, born the city of Amphissa, told him that he was at that present e in Alexandria, and studied physic; and that having acaintance with one of Antonius' cooks, he took him with him

An order set up by Antonius and Cleopatra in Egypt.

to Antonius' house (being a young man desirous to see things), to shew him the wonderful sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchen, and saw a world of diversities of meats, and amongst others eight wild boars roasted whole, he began to wonder at it, and said: "Sure you have a great number of guests to supper." The cook fell a-laughing, and answered him: "No," quoth he, "not many guests, nor above twelve in all: but yet all that is boiled or roasted must be served in whole, or else it would be marred straight: for Antonius peradventure will sup presently, or it may be a pretty while hence, or likely enough he will defer it longer, for that he hath drunk well to-day, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we do not dress one supper only, but many suppers, because we are uncertain of the hour he will sup in." Philotas the physician told my grandfather this tale, and said moreover, that it was his chance shortly after to serve the eldest son of the said Antonius, whom he had by his wife Fulvia; and that he sat commonly at his table with his other friends, when he did not dine nor sup with his father. It chanced one day there came a physician that was so full of words, that he made every man weary of him at the board: but Philotas, to stop his mouth, put out this subtle proposition to him: "It is good in some sort to let a man drink cold water that hath an ague: but every man that hath an ague, hath it in some sort: *ergo*, it is good for every man that hath an ague to drink cold water." The physician was so gravelled° and amated° withal, that he had not a word more to say. Young Antonius burst out into such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he said unto him: "Philotas, take all that, I give it thee:" shewing him his cupboard full of

Eight wild boars roasted whole.

Philotas a physician born in Amphissa, reporter of this feast.

Philotas physician to the younger Antonius.

Philotas' subtle proposition.

plate, with great pots of gold and silver. Philotas thanked him, and told him he thought himself greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to have given so many things, and of so great value. But much more he marvelled, when shortly after one of young Antonius' men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his mark and stamp upon them, and to lock them up. Philotas returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproved if he took them. Then the young gentleman Antonius said unto him: "Alas, poor man, why doest thou make it nice° to take them? knowest thou not that it is the son of Antonius that gives them thee, and is able to do it? if thou wilt not believe me, take rather the ready money they come to: because my father peradventure may ask for some of the plate, for the antick and excellent workmanship of them." This I have heard my grandfather tell oftentimes.

But now again to Cleopatra. Plato writeth that there are four kinds of flattery: but Cleopatra divided it into many kinds. For she (were it in sport, or in matters of earnest) still devised sundry new delights to have Antonius at commandment, never leaving him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dice with him, drink with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or activity of body. And sometime also, when he would go up and down the city disguised like a slave in the night, and would peer into poor men's windows and their shops, and scold and brawl with them within the house, Cleopatra would be also in a chamber-maid's array, and amble up and down the streets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mocks and blows. Now though most men misliked this manner, yet the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this jollity, and liked it well, saying very gallantly and

Plato writeth of four kinds of flattery.

Cleopatra queen of all flatterers.

wisely: 'that Antonius shewed them a comical face, to wit, a merry countenance: and the Romans a tragical face, to say, a grim look.' But to reckon up all the foolish sports they made, revelling in this sort, it were too fond a part of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angry as could be, because Cleopatra stood by. Wherefore he secretly commanded the fishermen, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive under the water, and put a fish on his hook which they had taken before: and so snatched up his angling-rod, and brought up a fish twice or thrice. Cleopatra found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondered at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by herself among her own people, she told them how it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the haven, and got into the fisher-boats to see this fishing. Antonius then threw in his line, and Cleopatra straight commanded one of her men to dive under water before Antonius' men, and to put some old salt-fish upon his bait, like unto those that are brought out of the country of Pont. When he had hung the fish on his hook, Antonius, thinking he had taken a fish indeed, snatched up his line presently. Then they all fell a-laughing. Cleopatra laughing also, said unto him: "Leave us, my lord, Egyptians (which dwell in the country of Pharus° and Canobus°) your angling-rod: this is not thy profession, thou must hunt after conquering of realms and countries."

Antonius' fishing in Egypt.

Now Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, very ill news were brought him from two places. The first from Rome, that his brother Lucius and Fulvia his wife fell out first between themselves, and afterwards fell to open war with Cæsar, and had brought all to nought,

The wars of Lucius Antonius and Fulvia against Octavius Cæsar.

that they were both driven to fly out of Italy. The second news, as bad as the first: that Labienus conquered all Asia with the army of the Parthians, from the river of Euphrates and from Syria unto the country of Lydia and Ionia. Then began Antonius with much ado a little to rouse himself, as if he had been wakened out of a deep sleep, and, as a man may say, coming out of a great drunkenness. So, first of all he bent himself against the Parthians, and went as far as the country of Phœnicia: but there he received lamentable letters from his wife Fulvia. Whereupon he straight returned towards Italy, with two hundred sail: and as he went, took up his friends by the way that fled out of Italy to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife Fulvia was the only cause of this war: who being of a peevish, crooked, and troublesome nature, had purposely raised this uproar in Italy, in hope thereby to withdraw him from Cleopatra. But by good fortune his wife Fulvia, going to meet with Antonius, sickened by the way, and died in the city of Sicyon°: and therefore Octavius Cæsar and he were the easilier made friends again. For when Antonius landed in Italy, and that men saw Cæsar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the other side laid all the fault and burden on his wife Fulvia; the friends of both parties would not suffer them to unrip any old matters, and to prove or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this war, fearing to make matters worse between them: but they made them friends together, and divided the empire of Rome between them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the provinces eastward unto Antonius, and the countries westward unto Cæsar, and left Africa unto Lepidus: and made a law, that they three, one after another, should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be them-

The death of Fulvia, Antonius' wife.

All the empire of Rome divided between the Triumviri.

selves. This seemed to be a sound counsel, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bond, which fortune offered thus. There was Octavia, the eldest sister of Cæsar, not by one mother, for she came of Ancharia, and Cæsar himself afterwards of Accia. It is reported, that he dearly loved his sister Octavia, for indeed she was a noble lady, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who died not long before: and it seemed also that Antonius had been widower ever since the death of his wife Fulvia. For he denied not that he kept Cleopatra, neither did he confess that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare unto this Egyptian Cleopatra. Thereupon every man did set forward this marriage, hoping thereby that this lady Octavia, having an excellent grace, wisdom, and honesty, joined unto so rare a beauty, when she were with Antonius (he loving her as so worthy a lady deserveth) she should be a good mean to keep good love and amity betwixt her brother and him. So when Cæsar and he had made the match between them, they both went to Rome about this marriage, although it was against the law that a widow should be married within ten months after her husband's death. Howbeit the senate dispensed with the law, and so the marriage proceeded accordingly.

Octavia the half sister of Octavius Cæsar, and daughter of Ancharia, which was not Cæsar's mother.

A law at Rome for marrying of widows.

Antonius married Octavia, Octavius Cæsar's half sister.

Sextus Pompeius° at that time kept in Sicilia,° and so made many an inroad into Italy with a great number of pinnaces and other pirates' ships, of the which were captains two noble pirates, Menas and Menecrates, who so scoured all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peep out with a sail. Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had dealt very friendly with Antonius, for he had courteously received his mother when

Antonius and Octavius Cæsar do make peace with Sextus Pompeius.

she fled out of Italy with Fulvia, and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena,° upon a hill that runneth far into the sea: Pompey having his ships riding hard by at anchor, and Antonius and Cæsar their armies upon the shore-side, directly over against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicily and Sardinia, with this condition, that he should rid the sea of all thieves and pirates, and make it safe for passengers, and withal, that he should send a certain° of wheat to Rome, one of them did feast another, and drew cuts who should begin. It was Pompeius' chance to invite them first. Whereupon Antonius asked him: "And where shall we sup?" "There," said Pompey; and shewed him his admiral galley which had six banks of oars: "that," said he, "is my father's house they have left me." He spake it to taunt Antonius, because he had his father's house, that was Pompey the Great. So he cast anchors enow into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wood to convey them to his galley, from the head of mount Misena: and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheer. Now in the midst of the feast, when they fell to be merry with Antonius' love unto Cleopatra, Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and whispering in his ear, said unto him: "Shall I cut the cables of the anchors, and make thee lord not only of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole empire of Rome besides?" Pompey, having paused a while upon it, at length answered him: "Thou shouldest have done it, and never have told it me; but now we must content us with that we have: as for myself, I was never taught to break my faith, nor to be counted a traitor." The other two also did likewise feast him in their camp, and then he returned into Sicily.

Sextus Pompeius' taunt to Antonius.

Sextus Pompeius being offered wonderful great fortune, for his honesty and faith's sake refused it.

Antonius, after this agreement made, sent Ventidius° before

into Asia to stay the Parthians, and to keep them they should come no further: and he himself in the mean time, to gratify Cæsar, was contented to be chosen Julius Cæsar's priest and sacrificer, and so they jointly together dispatched all great matters concerning the state of the empire. But in all other manner of sports and exercises, wherein they passed the time away the one with the other, Antonius was ever inferior unto Cæsar, and alway lost, which grieved him much. With Antonius there was a soothsayer or astronomer of Egypt, that could cast a figure, and judge of men's nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He, either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he found it so by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of itself was excellent good, and very great) was altogether blemished and obscured by Cæsar's fortune: and therefore he counselled him utterly to leave his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. "For thy demon," said he, (that is to say, the good angel and spirit that keepeth thee) "is afraid of his: and being courageous and high when he is alone, becometh fearful and timorous when he cometh near unto the other." Howsoever it was, the events ensuing proved the Egyptian's words true: for it is said, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who should have anything, or whether they played at dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftentimes when they were disposed to see cock-fight, or quails that were taught to fight one with another, Cæsar's cocks or quails did ever overcome. The which spited Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it: and therefore he believed the Egyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affairs of his house unto Cæsar, and went out of Italy with Octavia his wife, whom he carried into Greece after he had had a daughter by her.

Antonius told by a soothsayer that his fortune was inferior unto Octavius Cæsar's.

Antonius unfortunate in sport and earnest against Octavius Cæsar.

So Antonius lying all the winter at Athens, news came unto him of the victories of Ventidius, who had overcome the Parthians in battle, in the which also were slain Labienus and Pharnabates, the chiefest captains king Orodes° had. For these good news he feasted all Athens, and kept open house for all the Grecians, and many games of price were played at Athens, of the which he himself would be judge. Wherefore leaving his guard, his axes, and tokens of his empire at his house, he came into the shew-place or lists (where these games were played) in a long gown and slippers after the Grecian fashion, and they carried tipstaves° before him, as marshals' men do carry before the judges, to make place: and he himself in person was a stickler° to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the wars, he made him a garland of the holy olive, and carried a vessel with him of the water of the fountain Clepsydra,° because of an oracle he had received, that so commanded him. In the meantime, Ventidius once again overcame Pacorus (Orodes' son, king of Parthia) in a battle fought in the country of Cyrrestica,° he being come again with a great army to invade Syria: at which battle was slain a great number of the Parthians, and among them Pacorus, the king's own son. This noble exploit, as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the Romans of the shame and loss they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the Parthians fly, and glad to keep themselves within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia and Media, after they had thrice together been overcome in several battles. Howbeit Ventidius durst not undertake to follow them any farther, fearing lest he should have gotten Antonius' displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his army against them that had rebelled, and conquered them again: amongst whom he besieged Antiochus king of Commagena,°

Orodes king of Parthia.

Ventidius' notable victory of the Parthians.

The death of Pacorus the king of Parthia's son.

who offered him to give a thousand talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised ever after to be at Antonius' commandment. But Ventidius made him answer, that he should send unto Antonius; who was not far off, and would not suffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this little exploit should pass in his name, and that they should not think he did anything but by his lieutenant Ventidius. The siege grew very long, because they that were in the town, seeing they could not be received upon no reasonable composition, determined valiantly to defend themselves to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet received great shame, repenting him much that he took not their first offer. And yet at the last he was glad to make truce with Antiochus, and to take three hundred talents for composition. Thus after he had set order for the state and affairs of Syria, he returned again to Athens: and having given Ventidius such honours as he deserved, he sent him to Rome, to triumph for the Parthians. Ventidius was the only man that ever triumphed of the Parthians until this present day, a mean man born, and of no noble house or family: who only came to that he attained unto, through Antonius' friendship, the which delivered him happy occasion to achieve great matters. And yet to say truly, he did so well quit himself in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Cæsar, to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made war by their lieutenants than by themselves. For Sossius, one of Antonius' lieutenants in Syria, did notable good service: and Canidius, whom he had also left his lieutenant in the borders of Armenia, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the kings of the Iberians° and Albanians, and went on with his conquests unto mount Caucasus. By these conquests the fame of Antonius' power increased more and more, and grew dreadful unto all the barbarous nations.

Ventidius the only man of the Romans that triumphed for the Parthians.

Canidius' conquests.

But Antonius, notwithstanding, grew to be marvellously offended with Cæsar, upon certain reports that had been brought unto him, and so took sea to go towards Italy with three hundred sail. And because those of Brundusium would not receive his army into their haven, he went farther unto Tarentum. There his wife Octavia, that came out of Greece with him, besought him to send her unto her brother, the which he did. Octavia at that time was great with child, and moreover had a second daughter by him, and yet she put herself in journey, and met with her brother Octavius Cæsar by the way, who brought his two chief friends, Mæcenas° and Agrippa, with him. She took them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her, that was the happiest woman of the world, to become now the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other. "For now," said she, "every man's eyes do gaze on me, that am the sister of one of the emperors, and wife of the other. And if the worst counsel take place (which the gods forbid) and that they grow to wars: for yourselves, it is uncertain to which of them two the gods have assigned the victory or overthrow. But for me, on which side soever the victory fall, my state can be but most miserable still." These words of Octavia so softened Cæsar's heart, that he went quickly unto Tarentum. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an army by land not to stir; and so many ships afloat in the road quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindness of friends, lovingly embracing one another. First, Antonius feasted Cæsar, which he granted unto for his sister's sake. Afterwards they agreed together, that Cæsar should give Antonius two legions to go against the Parthians,

New displeasures betwixt Antonius and Octavius Cæsar.

The words of Octavia unto Mæcenas and Agrippa.

Octavia pacifieth the quarrel betwixt Antonius and her brother Octavius Cæsar.

and that Antonius should let Cæsar have an hundred galleys armed with brazen spurs at the prows. Besides all this, Octavia obtained of her husband twenty brigantines for her brother, and of her brother, for her husband, a thousand armed men. After they had taken leave of each other, Cæsar went immediately to make war with Sextus Pompeius, to get Sicilia into his hands. Antonius also, leaving his wife Octavia and little children begotten of her, with Cæsar, and his other children which he had by Fulvia, went directly into Asia.

Then began this pestilent plague and mischief of Cleopatra's love (which had slept a long time, and seemed to have been utterly forgotten, and that Antonius had given place to better counsel) again to kindle, and to be in force, so soon as Antonius came near unto Syria. And in the end, the horse of the mind, as Plato termeth it, that is so hard of rein (I mean the unreined lust of concupiscence) did put out of Antonius' head all honest and commendable thoughts; for he sent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra into Syria: unto whom, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things: but unto that she had already, he added the provinces of Phœnicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the ile of Cyprus, and a great part of Cilicia, and that country of Jewry where the true balm is, and that part of Arabia where the Nabathæans do dwell, which stretcheth out toward the ocean. These great gifts much misliked the Romans. But now, though Antonius did easily give away great seigniories, realms, and mighty nations unto some private men, and that also he took from other kings their lawful realms (as from Antigonus, king of the Jews, whom he openly beheaded, where never king before had suffered like death): yet all this did not so much offend the Romans, as the unmeasurable honours which he did unto Cleopatra.

Plato calleth concupiscence the horse of the mind.

Antonius sent for Cleopatra into Syria.

Antonius gave great provinces unto Cleopatra.

Antigonus king of Jewry, the first king beheaded by Antonius.

But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and ill-will towards him, because that Cleopatra having brought him two twins, a son and a daughter, he named his son Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra; and gave them, to° their surnames, the *Sun* to the one, and the *Moon* to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloke his shameful deeds with fine words, said, 'that the greatness and magnificence of the empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romans took, but where they gave much: and nobility was multiplied amongst men by the posterity of kings, when they left of their seed in divers places: and that by this means his first ancestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posterity in the womb of one only woman, fearing Solon's laws, or regarding the ordinances of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the foundation of many noble races and families in divers places.' Now when Phraortes had slain his father Orodes, and possessed the kingdom, many gentlemen of Parthia forsook him, and fled from him. Amongst them was Moneses, a nobleman, and of great authority among his countrymen, who came unto Antonius that received him, and compared his fortune unto Themistocles,° and his own riches and magnificence unto the kings of Persia. For he gave Moneses three cities, Larissa, Arethusa and Hierapolis, which was called before Bombice. Howbeit the king of Parthia shortly after called him home again, upon his faith and word. Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steal upon Phraortes unprovided. For he sent unto him, and told him that they would remain good friends, and have peace together, so he would but only redeliver the standards and ensigns of the Romans (which the Parthians had won in the battle where M. Crassus was slain) and the men also that remained yet prisoners

Antonius' twins by Cleopatra, and their names.

Phraortes slew his father Orodes king of Parthia.

of this overthrow. In the meantime he sent Cleopatra back into Egypt, and took his way towards Arabia and Armenia, and there took a general muster of all his army he had together, and of the kings his confederates that were come by his commandment to aid him, being a marvellous number: of the which, the chiefest was Artavasdes king of Armenia, who did furnish him with 6000 horsemen, and 7000 footmen. There were also of the Romans about threescore thousand footmen, and of horsemen (Spaniards and Gauls reckoned for Romans) to the number of 10,000, and of other nations thirty thousand men, reckoning together the horsemen and light-armed footmen. This so great and puissant army (which made the Indians quake for fear, dwelling about the country of the Bactrians, and all Asia also to tremble) served him to no purpose, and all for the love he bare to Cleopatra. For the earnest great desire he had, to lie all winter with her, made him begin this war out of due time, and for haste to put all in hazard: being so ravished and enchanted with the sweet poison of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly return again, more than how he might overcome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in Armenia to refresh his men, wearied with the long journey they had made, having come eight thousand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the spring to go and invade Media before the Parthians should stir out of their houses and garrisons: he could tarry no longer, but led them forthwith unto the province of Atropatene, leaving Armenia on the left hand, and foraged all the country. Furthermore, making all the haste he could, he left behind him engines of battery which were carried with him in three hundred carts (among the which also there was a ram fourscore feet long), being things most necessary for him, and the which he could not get again for money, if they were once lost or marred. For the high prov-

Antonius' great and puissant army.

Antonius drunk with the love of Cleopatra.

inces of Asia have no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like engines of battery. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind him, as an hindrance to bring his matters and intent speedily to pass: and left a certain number of men to keep them, and gave them in charge unto one Tatianus.

Then he went to besiege the city of Phraata, being the chiefest and greatest city the king of Media had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight found out his own fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the work he had in hand: for he was fain, for lack of a breach (where his men might come to the sword with their enemies that defended the wall, to force a mound of earth hard to the walls of the city, the which by little and little, with great labour, rose to some height. In the meantime king Phraortes came down with a great army, who, understanding that Antonius had left his engines of battery behind him, he sent a great number of horsemen before, which environed Tatianus with all his carriage, and slew him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this the barbarous people took these engines of battery and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they took also king Polemon. This discomfiture marvellously troubled all Antonius' army, to receive so great an overthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their journey: insomuch that Artabazus, king of the Armenians, despairing of the good success of the Romans, departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was himself the first procurer of this war and journey. On the other side, the Parthians came courageously unto Antonius' camp, who lay at the siege of their chiefest city, and cruelly reviled and threatened him. Antonius therefore, fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his men's hearts would fail them, he took ten legions, with three cohorts or ensigns of the

Antonius besiegeth the city of Phraata in Media.

The Parthians took Antonius' engines of battery.

Prætors (which are companies appointed for the guard of the general) and all his horsemen, and carried them out to forage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the Parthians to fight a battle. But when he had marched about a day's journey from his camp, he saw the Parthians wheeling round about him to give him the onset, and to skirmish with him, when he would think to march his way. Therefore he set out his signal of battle, and yet caused his tents and fardels to be trussed up, as though he meant not to fight, but only to lead his men back again. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was marshalled like a cressant or half moon, and commanded his horsemen that, as soon as they thought the legions were near enough unto their enemies to set upon the voward, that then they should set spurs to their horses, and begin the charge. The Parthians standing in battle ray, beholding the countenance of the Romans as they marched, took them for soldiers indeed, for that they marched in as good array as was possible. For in their march they kept their ranks a little space one from another, not straggling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking never a word. But so soon as the alarm was given, the horsemen suddenly turned head upon the Parthians, and with great cries gave charge on them: who at the first received their charge courageously, for they were joined nearer than within an arrow's shoot. But when the legions also came to join with them, shouting out aloud, and rattling of their armours, the Parthians' horses and themselves were so afraid and amazed withal, that they all turned tail and fled, before the Romans could come to the sword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chase, being in great hope by this conflict to have brought to end all or the most part of this war. But after that his footmen had chased them fifty furlongs off, and the horsemen also thrice as far, they found in all but thirty prisoners taken, and about

Battle betwixt the Parthians and Antonius.

The Romans' good order in their march.

fourscore men only slain: which did much discourage them, when they considered with themselves, that obtaining the victory, they had slain so few of their enemies: and when they were overcome, they lost so many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when their carriage was taken. The next morning Antonius' army trussed up their carriage and marched back towards their camp: and by the way in their return they met at the first a few of the Parthians; then going on further, they met a few more. So at length when they all came together, they reviled them, and troubled them on every side, as freshly and courageously as if they had not been overthrown: so that the Romans very hardly got to their camp with safety. The Medes on the other side, that were besieged in their chief city of Phraata, made a sally out upon them that kept the mount which they had forced and cast against the wall of the city, and drave them for fear from the mount they kept. Antonius was so offended withal, that he executed the decimation. For he divided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and for the other nine, he caused them to have barley given them instead of wheat. Thus the war fell out troublesome unto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearful; for Antonius could look for no other of his side but famine, because he could forage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great loss of his men. Phraortes, on the other side, he knew well enough that he could bring the Parthians to anything else but to lie in camp abroad in the winter. Therefore he was afraid, that if the Romans continued their siege all winter long, and made war with him still, that his men would forsake him, and specially because the time of the year went away apace, and the air waxed cloudy and cold in the equinoctial autumn. Thereupon he called to mind this device: He gave the chiefest of his gentlemen of the Parthians charge, that when they met the Romans

Decimation a martial punishment.

The craft of the Parthians against the Romans.

out of their camp, going to forage, or to water their horse, or for some other provision, that they should not distress them too much, but should suffer them to carry somewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantness and hardiness, for which their king did esteem them the more, and not without cause. After these first baits and allurements, they began by little and little to come nearer unto them, and to talk with them a-horseback, greatly blaming Antonius' self-will, that did not give their king Phraortes occasion to make a good peace, who desired nothing more than to save the lives of so goodly a company of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadful enemies he could have, to wit, winter and famine, the which they should hardly away withal, though the Parthians did the best they could to aid and accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a little pliant, for the good hope he had of his return: but yet he would not send unto the king of Parthia before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so courteously unto his men, whether they spake it of themselves, or that they were their master's words. When they told them the king himself said so, and did persuade them further not to fear or mistrust them, then Antonius sent some of his friends unto the king, to make demand for the delivery of the ensigns and prisoners he had of the Romans since the overthrow of Crassus, to the end it should not appear that, if he asked nothing, they should think he were glad that he might only scape with safety out of the danger he was in. The king of Parthia answered him, that, for the ensigns and prisoners he demanded, he should not break° his head about it: notwithstanding that, if he would presently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable manner, and without danger. Wherefore Antonius, after he had given his men some time to truss up their carriage, he

Antonius returneth from the journey of the Parthians.

raised his camp, and took his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to entertain his soldiers and men of war, and that he could passingly well do it, as well or better than any captain in his time: yet, being ashamed for respects, he would not speak unto them at his removing, but willed Domitius Ænobarbus to do it. Many of them took this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in disdain of them: but the most part of them presently understood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their duties to carry the like respect unto their captain that their captain did unto them: and so they became the more obedient unto him.

So Antonius was minded to return the same way he came, being a plain barren country without wood. But there came a soldier to him, born in the country of the Mardians, who, by oft frequenting the Parthians of long time, knew their fashions very well, and had also shewed himself very true and faithful to the Romans in the battle where Antonius' engines of battery and carriage were taken away. This man came unto Antonius, to counsel him to beware how he went that way, and to make his army a prey (being heavily armed) unto so great a number of horsemen, all archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let them to compass him round about: and that this was Phraortes' fetch, to offer him so friendly conditions and courteous words, to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meet him as he would in the plains: howbeit that he would guide him, if he thought good, another way on the right hand, through woods and mountains, a far nearer way, and where he should find great plenty of all things needful for his army. Antonius hearing what he said, called his counsel together to consult upon it. For after he had made peace with the Parthians, he was loth to give them cause to think he mistrusted them: and on the other side also he would gladly shorten his way, and pass by places well inhabited, where he

might be provided of all things necessary: therefore he asked the Mardian what pledge he would put in, to perform that he promised. The Mardian gave himself to be bound hand and foot, till he had brought his army into the country of Armenia. So he guided the army thus bound, two days together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day Antonius, thinking the Parthians would no more follow him, and trusting therein, suffered the soldiers to march in disorder as every man listed. The Mardian, perceiving that the dams of a river were newly broken up, which they should have passed over, and that the river had overflown the banks and drowned all the way they should have gone, he guessed straight that the Parthians had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the Romans for° getting too far before them. Therefore he bade Antonius look to himself, and told him that his enemies were not far from thence. Antonius, having set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and sling-men to resist the enemies, and to drive them back, they descried the Parthians that wheeled round about the army to compass them in on every side, and to break their ranks, and their light-armed men gave charge upon them. So after they had hurt many of the Romans with their arrows, and that they themselves were also hurt by them with their darts and plummets° of lead, they retired a little, and then came again and gave charge, until that the horsemen of the Gauls turned their horses, and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as all that day they gathered no more together. Thereby Antonius knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rereward of his army, but both the flanks also, with darts and sling-men, and made his army march in a square battle: commanding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assail them, they should drive them back, but not follow them too far. Thus the Parthians four days after, seeing they did

The Parthians do set upon Antonius in his return.

no more hurt to the Romans than they also received of them, they were not so hot upon them as they were commanded, but excusing themselves by the winter that troubled them, they determined to return back again. The fift day Flavius Gallus, a valiant man of his hands, that had charge in the army, came unto Antonius to pray him to let him have some mo of his light-armed men than were already in the rereward, and some of the horsemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. Antonius granting them unto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to set upon the tail of the army, and to skirmish with them, Flavius courageously made them retire, but not as they were wont to do before, to retire and join presently with their army; for he over rashly thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The captains that had the leading of the rereward, seeing Flavius stray too far from the army, they sent unto him to will° him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also, that Titius himself, the treasurer, took the ensigns, and did what he could to make the ensign-bearers return back, reviling Flavius Gallus, because that through his folly and desperateness he caused many honest and valiant men to be both hurt and slain to no purpose. Gallus also fell out with him, and commanded his men to stay. Wherefore Titius returned again into the army, and Gallus still overthrowing and driving the enemies back whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compassed in. Then, seeing himself environed on all sides, he sent unto the army, that they should come and aid him: but there the captains that led the legions (among the which Canidius, a man of great estimation about Antonius, made one) committed many faults. For where they should have made head with the whole army upon the Parthians, they sent him aid by small companies: and when they were slain, they sent him

The bold act of Flavius Gallus.

Canidius' fault, Antonius' captain.

others also. So that by their beastliness° and lack of consideration, they had like to have made all the army fly, if Antonius himself had not come from the front of the battle with the third legion, the which came through the middest of them that fled, until they came to front the enemies, and that they stayed them from chasing any farther. Howbeit at this last conflict there were slain no less than 3000 men, and 5000 besides brought sore hurt into the camp, and amongst them also Flavius Gallus, whose body was shot through in four places, whereof he died. Antonius went to the tents to visit and comfort the sick and wounded, and for pity's sake he could not refrain from weeping: and they also, shewing him the best countenance they could, took him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble himself for them, most reverently calling him their emperor and captain: and that for themselves, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For indeed to say truly, there was not at that time any emperor or captain that had so great and puissant an army as his together, both for lusty youths and courage of soldiers, as also for their patience to away with so great pains and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reverence they shewed unto their captain, with a marvellous earnest love and good will, was so great, and all were indifferently (as well great as small, the noble men as mean men, the captains as soldiers) so earnestly bent to esteem Antonius' good will and favour above their own life and safety, that, in this point of martial discipline, the ancient Romans could not have done any more. But divers things were cause thereof, as we have told you before: Antonius' nobility and ancient house, his eloquence, his plain nature, his liberality and magnificence, and familiarity to sport and to be merry in company; but especially the care he took

Flavius Gallus slain.

Antonius' care of them that were wounded.

The love and reverence of the soldiers unto Antonius.

The rare and singular gifts of Antonius.

at that time to help, visit, and lament those that were sick and wounded, seeing every man to have that which was meet for him: that was of such force and effect, as it made them that were sick and wounded to love him better, and were more desirous to do him service, than those that were whole and sound. This victory so encouraged the enemies (who otherwise were weary to follow Antonius any farther) that all night long they kept° the fields, and hovered about the Romans' camp, thinking that they would presently fly, and that then they should take the spoil of their camp. So the next morning by break of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the Parthians than they were before. For the rumour was, that there were not much fewer than 40,000 horse, because their king sent thither even the very guard about his person, as unto a most certain and assured victory, that they might be partners of the spoil and booty they hoped to have had: for, as touching the king himself, he was never in any conflict or battle. Then Antonius, desirous to speak to his soldiers, called for a black gown, to appear the more pitiful to them: but his friends did dissuade him from it. Therefore he put on his coat-armour, and being so apparelled, made an oration to his army: in the which he highly commended them that had overcome and driven back their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backs. So that those which had overcome prayed him to be of good cheer: the other° also, to clear themselves, willingly offered to take the lot of decimation if he thought good, or otherwise to receive what kind of punishment should please him to lay upon them, so that he would forget any more to mislike, or to be offended with them. Antonius seeing that, did lift up his hands to heaven, and made his prayer to the gods, that if, in exchange of his former victories, they would now send him some

The king of Parthia never came to fight in the field.

Antonius' charitable prayer to the gods for his army.

bitter adversity, then that all might light on himself alone, and that they would give the victory to the rest of his army.

The next morning, they gave better order on every side of the army, and so marched forward: so that when the Parthians thought to return again to assail them, they came far short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come, not to fight, but to spoil and make havoc of all, when they came near them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other javelins as the Romans darted at them, and the Parthians found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had been fresh men they had dealt withal. Whereupon their hearts began again to fail them. But yet when the Romans came to go down any steep hills or mountains, they would set on them with their arrows, because the Romans could go down but fair and softly. But then again, the soldiers of the legion that carried great shields, returned back, and enclosed them that were naked° or light-armed in the midst among them, and did kneel of one knee on the ground, and so set down their shields before them: and they of the second rank also covered them of the first rank, and the third also covered the second, and so from rank to rank all were covered. Insomuch that this manner of covering and shading themselves with shields was devised after the fashion of laying tiles upon houses; and to sight was like the degrees° of a theatre, and is a most strong defence and bulwark against all arrows and shot that falleth upon it. When the Parthians saw this countenance° of the Roman soldiers of the legion which kneeled on the ground in that sort upon one knee, supposing that they had been wearied with travel, they laid down their bows, and took their spears and lances, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the Romans suddenly rose upon their feet, and with the darts that they threw from them they slew the foremost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next days that followed. But by means of these dangers

The Romans' testudo and covering against shot.

and lets,° Antonius' army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffered great famine: for they could have but little corn, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it; and besides that, they had no instruments to grind it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had been left behind, because the beasts that carried them were either dead, or else employed to carry them that were sore and wounded. For the famine was so extreme great, that the eight part of a bushel of wheat was sold for fifty drachmas, and they sold barley bread by the weight of silver. In the end they were compelled to live of° herbs and roots, but they found few of them that men do commonly eat of, and were enforced to taste of them that were never eaten before: among the which, there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and [he] knew no manner of thing, but only busied himself in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had been a matter of great weight, and to be done with all possible speed. All the camp over, men were busily stooping to the ground, digging and carrying of stones from one place to another: but at the last, they cast up a great deal of choler,° and died suddenly; because they lacked wine, which was the only sovereign remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius, seeing such a number of his men die daily, and that the Parthians left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest, he oftentimes cried out sighing, and said: "O ten thousand!" He had the valiantness of 10,000 Grecians in such admiration, whom Xenophon° brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus: because they had come a farther journey from Babylon, and had also fought against much mo enemies many times told than themselves, and

Great famine in Antonius' army.

A deadly herb incurable without wine.

The valiantness of ten thousand Grecians, whom Xenophon brought

away after the overthrow of Cyrus.

yet came home with safety. The Parthians therefore, seeing that they could not break the good order of the army of the Romans, and contrarily, that they themselves were oftentimes put to flight, and wellfavouredly° beaten, they fell again to their old crafty subtilties. For when they found any of the Romans scattered from the army to go forage, to seek some corn or other victuals, they would come to them as if they had been their friends, and shewed them their bows unbent, saying, that themselves also did return home to their country as they did, and that they would follow them no farther: howbeit that they should yet have certain Medes that would follow them a day's journey or two, to keep them that they should do no hurt to the villages from the highways; and so holding them with this talk, they gently took their leave of them, and bad them farewell, so that the Romans began again to think themselves safe. Antonius also understanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plain country, because also they should find no water in the mountains, as it was reported unto him.

The Parthians very subtle and crafty people.

So as he was determined to take his course, there came into his host one Mithridates, a gentleman from the enemies' camp, who was cousin unto Moneses that fled unto Antonius, and unto whom he had given three cities. When he came to Antonius' camp, he prayed them to bring him one that could speak the Parthian or Syrian tongue. So one Alexander Antiochian, a familiar of Antonius, was brought unto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and said that Moneses had sent him to Antonius, to requite the honour and courtesy he had shewed unto him. After he had used this ceremonious speech, he asked Alexander if he saw those high mountains afar off, which he pointed unto with his finger. Alexander answered he did. "The

Mithridates a Parthian bewrayeth unto Antonius the conspiracy of his own countrymen against him.

Parthians," said he, "do lie in ambush at the foot of those mountains, under the which lieth a goodly plain champion° country: and they think that you, being deceived with their crafty subtle words, will leave the way of the mountains, and turn into the plain. For the other way, it is very hard and painful, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withal: but if Antonius take the lower way, let him assure himself to run the same fortune that Marcus Crassus did." So Mithridates having said, he departed. Antonius was marvellously troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therefore called for his friends, to hear what they would say to it. The Mardian also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered, that he thought as much as the gentleman Mithridates had said. "For," said he, "admit that there were no ambush of enemies in the valley, yet it is a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where, taking the mountain way, though it be stony and painful, yet there is no other danger but a whole day's travelling without any water." So Antonius, changing his first mind and determination, removed that night, and took the mountain-way, commanding every man to provide himself of water. But the most part of them lacking vessels to carry water in, some were driven to fill their sallets and murrians° with water, and others also filled goats' skins to carry water in. Now they marching forward, word was brought unto the Parthians that they were removed: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the selfsame night, so that by break of day they overtook the rereward of the Romans, who were so lame and wearied with going and lack of sleep, that they were even done.° For beyond expectation, they had gone that night two hundred and forty furlongs; and further, to see their enemies so suddenly at their backs, that made them utterly despair: but most of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to drive their enemies back,

yet creeping on still. The voward of the army by chance met with a river that was very clear and cold water; but it was salt and venomous to drink: for straight it did gnaw the guts of those that had drunk it, and made them marvellous dry, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the Mardian had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them back that would have kept them from drinking, and so drank. But Antonius, going up and down amongst them, prayed them to take a little patience for a while, for hard by there was another river that the water was excellent good to drink, and that from thenceforth the way was stony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could follow them no further. So he caused the retrait to be sounded to call them back that fought, and commanded the tents to be set up, that the soldiers might yet have shadow to refresh them with. So when the tents were set up, and the Parthians also retired according to their manner, the gentleman Mithridates before-named returned again as before, and Alexander in like manner again was brought unto him for interpreter. Then Mithridates advised him, that after the army had reposed a little, the Romans should remove forthwith, and with all possible speed get to the river: because the Parthians would go no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander carried the report thereof unto Antonius, who gave him a great deal of gold plate to bestow upon Mithridates. Mithridates took as much of him as he could well carry away in his gown, and so departed with speed.

A salt river.

Antonius' great liberality unto Mithridates, for the care he had of his safety.

So Antonius raised his camp, being yet day-light, and caused all his army to march, and the Parthians never troubled any of them by the way: but amongst themselves it was as ill and dreadful a night as ever they had. For there were villains of their own company who cut their fellows' throats for the money

they had, and besides that, robbed the sumpters and carriage of such money as they carried, and at length they set upon Antonius' slaves that drave his own sumpters and carriage; they brake goodly tables and rich plate in pieces, and divided it among themselves. Thereupon all the camp was straight in tumult and uproar: for the residue of them were afraid it had been the Parthians that had given them this alarm, and had put all the army out of order. Insomuch that Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his slaves enfranchised that was of his guard, and made him give him his faith that he would thrust his sword through him when he would bid him, and cut off his head, because he might not be taken alive of his enemies, nor known when he were dead. This grieved his friends to the heart, that they burst out a-weeping for sorrow. The Mardian also did comfort him, and assured him that the river he sought for was hard by, and that he did guess it by a sweet moist wind that breathed upon them, and by the air which they found fresher than they were wont, and also, for that they fetched their wind more at liberty; and moreover, because that since they did set forward, he thought they were near their journey's end, not lacking much of day. On the other side also Antonius was informed that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile covetousness and villany of certain of his soldiers. Therefore Antonius, to set his army again in order, and to pacify this uproar, sounded the trumpet that every man should lodge. Now day began to break, and the army to fall again into good order, and all the hurly-burly to cease, when the Parthians drew near, and that their arrows lighted among them of the rereward of his army. Thereupon the signal of battle was given to the light-armed men, and the legioners° did cover themselves as they had done before with their shields, with the

The tumult of Antonius' soldiers through covetousness.

Antonius' desperate mind.

which they received and defended the force of the Parthians' arrows, who never durst any more come to handy strokes° with them: and thus they that were in the voward went down by little and little, till at length they espied the river. There Antonius placed his armed men upon the sands to receive and drive back the enemies, and first of all, got over his men that were sick and hurt, and afterwards all the rest. And those also that were left to resist the enemies had leisure enough to drink safely and at their pleasure. For when the Parthians saw the river, they unbent their bows, and bad the Romans pass over without any fear, and greatly commended their valiantness. When they had all passed over the river at their ease, they took a little breath, and so marched forward again, not greatly trusting the Parthians. The sixth day after this last battle, they came to the river of Araxes, which divideth the country of Armenia from Media; the which appeared unto them very dangerous to pass, for the depth and swiftness of the stream. And furthermore there ran a rumour through the camp, that the Parthians lay in ambush thereabouts, and that they would come and set upon them whilst they were troubled in passing over the river. But now, after they were all come safely over without any danger, and that they had gotten to the other side, into the province of Armenia, then they worshipped that land, as if it had been the first land they had seen after a long and dangerous voyage by sea, being now arrived in a safe and happy haven: and the tears ran down their cheeks, and every man embraced each other for the great joy they had. But now, keeping the fields in this fruitful country so plentiful of all things, after so great a famine and want of all things, they so crammed themselves with such plenty of victuals, that many of them were cast into fluxes and dropsies. There Antonius, mustering his whole army, found that he had lost 20,000 footmen, and 4000 horsemen, which had not all been slain by their enemies: for the most part of

Araxes fl.

them died of sickness, making seven and twenty days' journey coming from the city of Phraata into Armenia, and having overcome the Parthians in eighteen several battles. But these victories were not throughly performed nor accomplished, because they followed no long chase: and thereby it easily appeared, that Artabazus king of Armenia had kept Antonius from ending this war. For if the sixteen thousand horsemen which he brought with him out of Media had been at these battles (considering that they were armed and apparelled much after the Parthian manner, and acquainted also with their fight, when the Romans had put them to flight that had fought a battle with them, and that these Armenians had followed the chase of them that fled) they had not gathered themselves again in force, neither durst they also have returned to fight with them so often after they had been so many times overthrown. Therefore all those that were of any credit and countenance in the army did persuade and egg° Antonius to be revenged of this Armenian king: but Antonius, wisely dissembling his anger, he told him not of his treachery, nor gave him the worse countenance,° nor did him less honour than he did before: because he knew his army was weak, and lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned again into Armenia with a great army, and so with fair words and sweet promises of messengers, he allured Artabazus to come to him: whom he then kept prisoner, and led in triumph in the city of Alexandria. This greatly offended the Romans, and made them much to mislike it, when they saw that for Cleopatra's sake he deprived his country of her due honour and glory, only to gratify the Egyptians. But this was a pretty while after.

Eighteen several battles fought with the Parthians.

The treachery of Artabazus king of Armenia unto Antonius.

Antonius triumphed of Artabazus king of Armenia, in Egypt.

Howbeit then, the great haste he made to return unto Cleo-

patra caused him to put his men to so great pains, forcing them to lie in the field all winter long when it snew° unreasonably, that by the way he lost eight thousand of his men, and so came down to the sea-side with a small company, unto a certain place called Blanchbourg: which standeth betwixt the cities of Berytus and Sidon,° and there tarried for Cleopatra. And because she tarried longer than he would have had her, he pined away for love and sorrow: so that he was at such a straight,° that he wist not what to do, and therefore, to wear it out, he gave himself to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the love of her, that he could not abide to sit at the table till the feast was ended: but many times, while others banqueted, he ran to the sea-side to see if she were coming. At length she came, and brought with her a world of apparel and money to give unto the soldiers. But some say notwithstanding that she brought apparel and no money, and that she took of Antonius' money, and caused it to be given amongst the soldiers in her own name, as if she had given it them.

Antonius pined away looking for Cleopatra.

Cleopatra came to Blanchbourg unto Antonius.

In the meantime it chanced that the king of the Medes and Phraortes, king of the Parthians, fell at great wars together, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoils of the Romans: and grew to be so hot between them that the king of Medes was no less afraid than also in danger to lose his whole realm. Thereupon he sent unto Antonius, to pray him to come and make war with the Parthians, promising him that he would aid him to his uttermost power. This put Antonius again in good comfort, considering that, unlooked for, the only thing he lacked (which made him he could not overcome the Parthians, meaning that he had not brought horsemen, and men with darts and slings enough) was offered him in that sort, that it did him more pleasure to accept it than it was pleasure to the other to offer

Wars betwixt the Parthians and Medes.

it. Hereupon, after he had spoken with the king of Medes at the river of Araxes, he prepared himself once more to go through Armenia, and to make more cruel war with the Parthians than he had done before.

Now whilst Antonius was busy in this preparation, Octavia his wife, whom he had left at Rome, would needs take sea to come unto him. Her brother Octavius Cæsar was willing to it, not for his respect at all (as most authors do report) as for that he might have an honest colour to make war with Antonius, if he did misuse her, and not esteem of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to Athens, she received letters from Antonius, willing° her to stay there until his coming, and did advertise her of his journey and determination. The which though it grieved her much, and that she knew it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of answer, she asked him whether he would have those things sent unto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparel for soldiers, a great number of horse, sums of money and gifts, to bestow on his friends and captains he had about him: and besides all those, she had 2000 soldiers, chosen men, all well armed like unto the Prætor's bands. When Niger, one of Antonius' friends whom he had sent unto Athens, had brought these news from his wife Octavia, and withal did greatly praise her, as she was worthy and well deserved, Cleopatra, knowing that Octavia would have Antonius from her, and fearing also that if with her virtue and honest behaviour (besides the great power of her brother Cæsar) she did add thereunto her modest kind love to please her husband, that she would then be too strong for her, and in the end win him away: she subtly seemed to languish for the love of Antonius, pining her body for lack of meat. Furthermore, she every way so framed her countenance, that when Antonius came to see her, she cast her eyes upon him, like a woman ravished for joy. Straight again when

Octavia, Antonius' wife, came to Athens to meet with him.

he went from her, she fell a-weeping and blubbering, looking ruefully on the matter, and still found the means that Antonius should oftentimes find her weeping: and then when he came suddenly upon her, she made as though she dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were unwilling that he should see her weep. All these tricks she used, Antonius being in readiness to go into Syria, to speak with the king of Medes. Then the flatterers that furthered Cleopatra's mind blamed Antonius, and told him that he was a hard-natured man, and that he had small love in him, that would see a poor lady in such torment for his sake, whose life depended only upon him alone. "For Octavia," said they, "that was married unto him as it were of necessity, because her brother Cæsar's affairs so required it, hath the honour to be called Antonius' lawful spouse and wife: and Cleopatra, being born a queen of so many thousands of men, is only named Antonius' leman; and yet that she disdained not so to be called, if it might please him she might enjoy his company, and live with him: but if he once leave her, that then it is unpossible she should live." To be short, by these their flatteries and enticements, they so wrought Antonius' effeminate mind that, fearing lest she would make herself away, he returned again unto Alexandria, and referred° the king of Medes to the next year following, although he received news that the Parthians at that time were at civil wars among themselves. This notwithstanding, he went afterwards and made peace with him. For he married his daughter, which was very young, unto one of the sons that Cleopatra had by him: and then returned, being fully bent to make war with Cæsar.

The flickering enticements of Cleopatra unto Antonius.

The occasion of civil war betwixt Antonius and Cæsar.

When Octavia was returned to Rome from Athens, Cæsar commanded her to go out of Antonius' house, and to dwell by herself, because he had abused her. Octavia answered him

again, that she would not forsake her husband's house, and that if he had no other occasion to make war with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: "For," said she, "it were too shameful a thing, that two so famous captains should bring in civil wars among the Romans, the one for the love of a woman, and the other for the jealousy betwixt one another." Now as she spake the word, so did she also perform the deed: for she kept still in Antonius' house, as if he had been there, and very honestly and honourably kept his children, not only those she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Fulvia. Furthermore, when Antonius sent any of his men to Rome, to sue for any office in the commonwealth, she received them very courteously, and so used herself unto her brother, that she obtained the things she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did Antonius great hurt. For her honest love and regard to her husband made every man hate him, when they saw he did so unkindly use so noble a lady: but the greatest cause of their malice unto him was for the division of lands he made among his children in the city of Alexandria. And, to confess a troth,° it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in derision and contempt of the Romans. For he assembled all the people in the show-place, where young men do exercise themselves, and there, upon a high tribunal silvered, he set two chairs of gold, the one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, and lower chairs for his children; then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt, of Cyprus, of Lydia, and of the lower Syria; and at that time also Cæsarion king of the same realms. This Cæsarion was supposed to be the son of Julius Cæsar, who had left Cleopatra great with

The love of Octavia unto Antonius her husband, and her wise and womanly behaviour.

Antonius arrogantly divideth diverse provinces unto his children by Cleopatra.

Cæsarion the supposed son of Cæsar by Cleopatra.

child. Secondly, he called the sons he had by her the kings of kings, and gave Alexander for his portion Armenia, Media, and Parthia, when he had conquered the country; and unto Ptolemy for his portion Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. And therewithal he brought out Alexander in a long gown after the fashion of the Medes with a high cop-tank° hat on his head, narrow in the top, as the kings of the Medes and Armenians do use to wear them: and Ptolemy apparelled in a cloak after the Macedonian manner, with slippers on his feet and a broad hat, with a royal band or diadem. Such was the apparel and old attire of the ancient kings and successors of Alexander the Great. So after his sons had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother, presently a company of Armenian soldiers, set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of Macedonians the other. Now for Cleopatra, she did not only wear at that time (but at all other times else when she came abroad) the apparel of the goddess Isis,° and so gave audience unto all her subjects, as a new Isis. Octavius Cæsar reporting all these things unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome, he thereby stirred up all the Romans against him. Antonius on the other side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest points of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that having spoiled Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, he did not give him his part of the ile. Secondly, that he did detain in his hands the ships he lent him to make that war. Thirdly, that having put Lepidus their companion and triumvirate° out of his part of the empire, and having deprived him of all honours, he retained for himself the lands and revenues thereof, which had been assigned unto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner divided all Italy amongst his own soldiers, and had left no part of it for his

Alexander and Ptolemy, Antonius' sons by Cleopatra.

Accusations betwixt Octavius Cæsar and Antonius.

soldiers. Octavius Cæsar answered him again: that for Lepidus, he had indeed deposed him, and taken his part of the empire from him, because he did over cruelly use his authority. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of arms, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of Armenia. And thirdly, that, for his soldiers, they should seek for nothing in Italy, because they possessed Media and Parthia, the which provinces they had added to the empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their emperor and captain. Antonius hearing these news, being yet in Armenia, commanded Canidius to go presently to the sea-side with his sixteen legions he had: and he himself, with Cleopatra, went unto the city of Ephesus, and there gathered together his galleys and ships out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great ships of burthen: and of those, Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred and twenty thousand talents besides, and provision of victuals also to maintain all the whole army in this war. So Antonius, through the persuasion of Domitius, commanded Cleopatra to return again into Egypt, and there to understand° the success° of this war. But Cleopatra, fearing lest Antonius should again be made friends with Octavius Cæsar by the means of his wife Octavia, she so plied Canidius with money and filled his purse, that he became her spokesman unto Antonius, and told him there was no reason to send her from this war, who defrayed so great a charge°: neither that it was for his profit, because thereby the Egyptians would then be utterly discouraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea: considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederates that Cleopatra was inferior unto, either for wisdom or judgment, seeing that long before she had wisely governed so great a realm as Egypt; and besides that, she had been so long acquainted with him, by

Antonius came with eight hundred sail against Octavius Cæsar.

whom she had learned to manage great affairs. These fair persuasions wan him: for it was predestinated that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Cæsar's hands.

Thus, all their forces being joined together, they hoised sail towards the ile of Samos, and there gave themselves to feasts and solace. For as all the kings, princes, and commonalties, people, and cities, from Syria unto the marrishes Mæotides,° and from the Armenians to the Illyrians, were sent unto, to send and bring all munition and warlike preparation they could: even so all players, minstrels, tumblers, fools, and jesters, were commanded to assemble in the ile of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in every place was full of lamentations, sighs, and tears, only in this ile of Samos there was nothing for many days' space but singing and piping, and all the theatre full of these common players, minstrels, and singing-men. Besides all this, every city sent an ox thither to sacrifice, and kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest feasts, and give the richest gifts. So that every man said, "What can they do more for joy of victory, if they win the battle, when they make already such sumptuous feasts at the beginning of the war?" When this was done, he gave the whole rabble of these minstrels, and such kind of people, the city of Priene° to keep them withal during this war. Then he went unto the city of Athens, and there gave himself again to see plays and pastimes, and to keep the theatres. Cleopatra, on the other side, being jealous of the honours which Octavia had received in this city, where indeed she was marvellously honoured and beloved of the Athenians; to win the people's goodwill also at Athens, she gave them great gifts: and they likewise gave her many great honours, and appointed certain ambassadors to carry the decree to her house, among the which Antonius was one, who (as a citizen of

Antonius carrieth Cleopatra with him to the wars against Octavius Cæsar: and kept great feasting at the isle of Samos together.

Athens) reported the matter unto her, and made an oration in the behalf of the city. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife Octavia out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all Antonius' children, saving the eldest of them he had by Fulvia, who was with his father: bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap, that had brought her to this, that she was accounted one of the chiefest causes of this civil war. The Romans did pity her, but much more Antonius, and those specially that had seen Cleopatra: who neither excelled Octavia in beauty, nor yet in young years.

Antonius put his wife Octavia out of his house at Rome.

Octavius Cæsar understanding the sudden and wonderful great preparation of Antonius, he was not a little astonied° at it (fearing he should be driven to fight that summer) because he wanted many things, and the great and grievous exactions of money did sore oppress the people. For all manner of men else were driven to pay the fourth part of their goods and revenue, but the libertines (to wit, those whose fathers or other predecessors had sometime been bondmen) were seissed° to pay the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereupon there arose a wonderful exclamation and great uproar all Italy over, so that, amongst the greatest faults that ever Antonius committed, they blamed him most for that he delayed to give Cæsar battle. For he gave Cæsar leisure to make his preparations, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great sum of money was demanded of them, they grudged at it, and grew to mutiny upon it: but when they had once paid it, they remembered it no more. Furthermore, Titius and Plancus (two of Antonius' chiefest friends, and that had been both of them consuls) for the great injuries Cleopatra did them, because they hindered all they could that she should not come to this war, they went and yielded themselves unto Cæsar, and told him where the

Octavius Cæsar exacteth grievous payments of the Romans.

testament was that Antonius had made, knowing perfectly what was in it. The will was in the custody of the Vestal nuns: of whom Cæsar demanded it. They answered him, that they would not give it him: but if he would go and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon Cæsar went thither, and having read it first to himself, he noted certain places worthy of reproach: so assembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon divers were marvellously offended, and thought it a strange matter that he, being alive, should be punished for that he had appointed by his will to be done after his death. Cæsar chiefly took hold of this that he ordained touching his burial: for he willed that his body, though he died at Rome, should be brought in funeral pomp through the middest of the market-place, and that it should be sent into Alexandria unto Cleopatra. Furthermore, among divers other faults wherewith Antonius was to be charged for Cleopatra's sake, Calvisius, one of Cæsar's friends, reproved him, because he had frankly given Cleopatra all the libraries of the royal city of Pergamum, in the which she had above two hundred thousand several books. Again also, that being on a time set at the table, he suddenly rose from the board and trod upon Cleopatra's foot, which was a sign given between them, of which they were agreed on. That he had also suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra their sovereign lady. That divers times, sitting in his tribunal and chair of state, giving audience to all kings and princes, he had received love-letters from Cleopatra, written in tables° of onyx or crystal; and that he had read them sitting in his imperial seat. That one day when Furnius, a man of great account, and the eloquentest man of all the Romans, pleaded a matter before him, Cleopatra by chance coming through the market-place in her

Titius and Plancus revolt from Antonius, and do yield to Cæsar.

A famous library in the city of Pergamum.

Furnius, an eloquent orator among the Romans.

litter where Furnius was a-pleading, Antonius straight rose out of his seat, and left his audience to follow her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought Calvisius devised the most part of all these accusations of his own head. Nevertheless they that loved Antonius were intercessors to the people for him, and amongst them they sent one Geminius unto Antonius, to pray him he would take heed that through his negligence his empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the people of Rome. This Geminius, being arrived in Greece, made Cleopatra jealous straight of his coming, because she surmised that he came not but to speak for Octavia. Therefore she spared not to taunt him all supper-time; and moreover, to spite him the more, she made him to be set lowest of all at the board: the which he took patiently, expecting° occasion to speak with Antonius. Now Antonius commanding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither, he answered, 'That it was no table-talk, and that he would tell him to-morrow morning fasting: but drunk or fasting, howsoever it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his side, unless Cleopatra were sent back into Egypt.' Antonius took these words in very ill part. Cleopatra on the other side answered him, "Thou doest well, Geminius," said she, "to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments:" but within few days after, Geminius stole away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers also, to please Cleopatra, did make her drive many other of Antonius' faithful servants and friends from him, who could not abide the injuries done unto them: among the which these two were chief, Marcus Syllanus, and Dellius the historiographer, who wrote that he fled because her physician Glaucus told him that Cleopatra had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore, he had Cleopatra's displeasure, because he said

Geminius sent from Rome to Antonius, to bid him take heed to himself.

Many of Antonius' friends do forsake him.

one night at supper, that they made them drink sour wine, where Sarmentus at Rome drank good wine of Falerna. This Sarmentus was a pleasant young boy, such as the lords of Rome are wont to have about them to make them pastime, which they call their joys, and he was Octavius Cæsar's boy. Now after that Cæsar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaimed open war against Cleopatra, and made the people to abolish the power and empire of Antonius, because he had before given it up unto a woman. And Cæsar said furthermore, that Antonius was not master of himself, but that Cleopatra had brought him beside himself by her charms and amorous poisons: and that they, that should make war with them, should be Mardian the eunuch, Photinus, and Iras (a woman of Cleopatra's bed-chamber, that frizzled her hair, and dressed her head) and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the affairs of Antonius' empire.

Antonius' empire taken from him.

Before this war, as it is reported, many signs and wonders fell out. First of all, the city of Pisaurum, which was made a colony to Rome, and replenished with people by Antonius, standing upon the shore-side of the sea Adriatic, was by a terrible earthquake sunk into the ground. One of the images of stone, which was set up in the honour of Antonius in the city of Alba, did sweat many days together: and though some wiped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the city of Patras, whilst Antonius was there, the temple of Hercules was burnt with lightning. And at the city of Athens also, in a place where the war of the giants against the gods is set out in imagery, the statue of Bacchus with a terrible wind was thrown down in the theatre. It was said that Antonius came of the race of Hercules (as you have heard before), and in the manner of his life he followed

Signs and wonders before the civil wars betwixt Antonius and Octavius Cæsar.

Pesaro, a city in Italy, sunk into the ground by an earthquake.

Bacchus, and therefore he was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the same blustering storm of wind overthrew the great monstrous images at Athens that were made in the honour of Eumenes° and Attalus,° the which men had named and intituled 'the Antonians': and yet did they hurt none of the other images, which were many besides. The admiral-galley of Cleopatra was called *Antoniad*, in the which there chanced a marvellous ill sign: swallows had bred under the poop of her ship, and there came others after them that drave away the first, and plucked down their nests.

An ill sign, foreshewed by swallows breeding in Cleopatra's ship.

Now when all things were ready, and that they drew near to fight, it was found, that Antonius had no less than 500 good ships of war, among which there were many galleys that had eight and ten banks of oars, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meet for fight as for triumph: an hundred thousand footmen, and 12,000 horsemen: and had with him to aid him these kings and subjects following: Bocchus king of Lybia, Tarcondemus king of high Cilicia, Archelaus king of Cappadocia, Philadelphus king of Paphlagonia, Mithridates king of Comagena, and Adallas king of Thracia. All which were there, every man in person. The residue that were absent, sent their armies: as Polemon king of Pont, Manchus king of Arabia, Herodes king of Jewry; and furthermore Amyntas king of Lycaonia and of the Galatians: and besides all these, he had all the aid the king of Medes sent unto him. Now for Cæsar, he had 250 ships of war, 80,000 footmen, and well near as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius. Antonius for his part had all under his dominion from Armenia and the river of Euphrates, unto the sea Ionium and Illyricum. Octavius Cæsar had also, for his part, all that which was in

Antonius' power against Octavius Cæsar.

Antonius had eight kings, and their power to aid him.

The army and power of Octavius Cæsar against Antonius.

our hemisphere or half-part of the world, from Illyria unto the ocean sea upon the west: then all from the ocean unto *mare Siculum*: and from Africa, all that which is against Italy, as Gaul and Spain. Furthermore, all, from the province of Cyrenia to Ethiopia, was subject unto Antonius. Now Antonius was made so subject to a woman's will, that though he was a great deal the stronger by land, yet for Cleopatra's sake he would needs have this battle tried by sea: though he saw before his eyes, that for lack of water-men his captains did prest° by force all sorts of men out of Greece that they could take up in the field, as travellers, muleteers, reapers, harvest-men, and young boys; and yet could they not sufficiently furnish his galleys: so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant° row, because they lacked water-men enough. But on the contrary side, Cæsar's ships were not built for pomp, high and great, only for a sight and bravery,° but they were light of yarage,° armed and furnished with water-men as many as they needed, and had them all in readiness in the havens of Tarentum and Brundusium. So Octavius Cæsar sent unto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into Italy: and that for his own part he would give him safe harbour to land without any trouble; and that he would withdraw his army from the sea, as far as one horse could run, until he had put his army ashore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side bravely sent him word again and challenged the combat of him, man for man, though he were the elder; and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a battle with him in the fields of Pharsalia, as Julius Cæsar and Pompey had done before. Now whilst Antonius rode at anchor, lying idly in harbour at the head of Actium,° in the place where the city of Nicopolis standeth at this

Antonius' dominions.

Octavius Cæsar's dominions.

Antonius too much ruled by Cleopatra.

Antonius rode at anchor at the head of Actium: where the city of Nicopolis standeth.

present, Cæsar had quickly passed the sea *Ionium*, and taken a place called Toryne, before Antonius understood that he had taken ship. Then began his men to be afraid, because his army by land was left behind. But Cleopatra making light of it, "And what danger, I pray you," said she, "if Cæsar keep at Toryne * ?" The next morning by break of day, his enemies coming with full force of oars in battle against him, Antonius was afraid that if they came to join, they would take and carry away his ships that had no men of war in them. So he armed all his water-men, and set them in order of battle upon the fore-castle of their ships, and then lift up all his ranks of oars towards the element, as well on the one side as on the other, with the prows against the enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulf which beginneth at the point of Actium: and so kept them in order of battle, as if they had been armed and furnished with water-men and soldiers. Thus Octavius Cæsar, being finely deceived by this stratagem, retired presently, and therewithal Antonius very wisely and suddenly did cut him off from fresh water. For, understanding that the places where Octavius Cæsar landed had very little store of water, and yet very bad, he shut them in with strong ditches and trenches he cast, to keep them from sailing out at their pleasure, and so to go seek water farther off. Furthermore, he dealt very friendly and courteously with Domitius, and against Cleopatra's mind. For he being sick of an ague when he went and took a little boat to go unto Cæsar's camp, Antonius was very sorry for it, but yet he sent after him all his carriage, train, and men: and the same Domitius, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open treason, died immediately after. There

*** The grace of this taunt cannot properly be expressed in any other tongue because of the equivocation of this word Toryne, which signifieth a city of Albania, and also a ladle to scum the pot with: as if she meant, Cæsar sat by the fire-side scumming of the pot.**

Domitius forsaketh Antonius, and goeth unto Octavius Cæsar.

were certain kings also that forsook him, and turned on Cæsar's side, as Amyntas and Deiotarus. Furthermore, his fleet and navy that was unfortunate in all things, and unready for service, compelled him to change his mind, and to hazard battle by land. And Canidius also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow Antonius' determination, he turned him clean contrary, and counselled him to send Cleopatra back again, and himself to retire into Macedon, to fight there on the main land. And furthermore told him, that Dicomes king of the Getes promised to aid him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonour to him to let Cæsar have the sea, because himself and his men both had been well practised and exercised in battles by sea, in the war of Sicilia against Sextus Pompeius: but rather that he should do against all reason (he having so great skill and experience of battles by land as he had), if he should not employ the force and valiantness of so many lusty armed footmen as he had ready, but would weaken his army by dividing them into ships. But now, notwithstanding all these good persuasions, Cleopatra forced him to put all to the hazard of battle by sea: considering with herself how she might fly and provide for her safety, not to help him to win the victory, but to fly more easily after the battle lost. Betwixt Antonius' camp and his fleet of ships, there was a great high point of firm land that ran a good way into the sea, the which Antonius used often for a walk, without mistrust of fear or danger. One of Cæsar's men perceived it, and told his master that he would laugh if they could take up Antonius in the middest of his walk. Thereupon Cæsar sent some of his men to lie in ambush for him, and they missed not much of taking him (for they took him that came before him) because they discovered° too soon, and so Antonius scaped very hardly. So when Antonius had determined to fight by sea, he

Amyntas and Deiotarus do both revolt from Antonius and go unto Cæsar.

Antonius in danger of taking at Actium.

set all the other ships on fire but three score ships of Egypt, and reserved only the best and greatest galleys, from three banks unto ten banks of oars. Into them he put two and twenty thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters and slingers. Now as he was setting his men in order of battle, there was a captain, a valiant man, that had served Antonius in many battles and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who, as Antonius passed by him, cried out unto him, and said: "O noble emperor, how cometh it to pass that you trust to these vile brittle ships? What, do you mistrust these wounds of mine, and this sword? Let the Egyptians and Phœnicians fight by sea, and set us on the main land, where we use to conquer or to be slain on our feet." Antonius passed by him and said never a word, but only beckoned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himself. For when the masters of the galleys and pilots would have let their sails alone, he made them clap° them on; saying, to colour the matter withal, that not one of his enemies should scape. All that day and the three days following, the sea rose so high and was so boisterous, that the battle was put off. The fift day the storm ceased, and the sea calmed again, and then they rowed with force of oars in battle one against the other: Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, and Celius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeius the midst. Octavius Cæsar, on the other side, had placed Agrippa in the left wing of his army, and had kept the right wing for himself. For the armies by land, Canidius was general of Antonius' side, and Taurus of Cæsar's side: who kept their men in battle ray, the one before the other, upon the sea side, without stirring one against the other. Further, touching both the chieftains: Antonius, being in a swift pinnace, was carried up and down by force of oars

Antonius regardeth not the good counsel of his soldiers.

Battle by sea at Actium, betwixt Antonius and Cæsar.

through his army, and spake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on main land, because of the steadiness and heaviness of their ships: and commanded the pilots and masters of the galleys, that they should not stir, none otherwise than if they were at anchor, and so to receive the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not go out of the streight° of the gulf. Cæsar betimes in the morning going out of his tent, to see his ships throughout, met a man by chance that drave an ass before him: Cæsar asked the man what his name was. The poor man told him that his name was Eutychus, to say, *Fortunate:* and his ass's name Nicon, to say, *Conqueror.* Therefore Cæsar, after he had won the battle, setting out the market-place with the spurs of the galleys he had taken, for a sign of his victory, he caused also the man and his ass to be set up in brass. When he had visited the order of his army throughout, he took a little pinnace, and went to the right wing, and wondered when he saw his enemies lie still in the streight, and stirred not. For discerning them afar off, men would have thought they had been ships riding at anchor: and a good while he was so persuaded. So he kept his galleys eight furlongs from his enemies. About noon there arose a little gale of wind from the sea, and then Antonius' men, waxing angry with tarrying so long, and trusting to the greatness and height of their ships, as if they had been invincible, they began to march forward with their left wing. Cæsar, seeing that, was a glad man, and began a little to give back from the right wing, to allure them to come farther out of the streight and gulf, to the end that he might with his light ships, well manned with water-men, turn and environ the galleys of the enemies, the which were heavy of yarage, both for their bigness, as also for lack of water-men to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to join, there was no great hurt at the first

A lucky sign unto Octavius Cæsar.

Eutychus Nicon, fortunate conqueror.

meeting, neither did the ships vehemently hit one against the other, as they do commonly in fight by sea. For on the other side Antonius' ships, for their heaviness, could not have the strength and swiftness to make their blows of any force: and Cæsar's ships on the other side took great heed not to rush and shock with the forecastles of Antonius' ships, whose prows were armed with great brazen spurs. Furthermore they durst not flank them, because their points were easily broken, which way soever they came to set upon his ships, that were made of great main square pieces of timber, bound together with great iron pins: so that the battle was much like unto a battle by land, or to speak more properly, to the assault of a city. For there were always three or four of Cæsar's ships about one of Antonius' ships, and the soldiers fought with their pikes, halbards, and darts, and threw halbards and darts with fire. Antonius' ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their crossbows and engines of battery, great store of shot from their high towers of wood that were set upon their ships. Now Publicola seeing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Cæsar's army, to compass in Antonius' ships that fought, he was driven also to loof° off to have more room, and to go a little at one side, to put those farther off that were afraid, and in the midst of the battle; for they were sore distressed by Arruntius.

Howbeit the battle was yet of even hand, and the victory doubtful, being indifferent to both: when suddenly they saw the threescore ships of Cleopatra busily about their yard-masts, and hoising sail to fly. So they fled through the middest of them that were in fight, for they had been placed behind the great ships, and did marvellously disorder the other ships. For the enemies themselves wondered much to see them sail in that sort, with full sail towards Peloponnesus. There Antonius shewed plainly, that he had not only lost the courage and heart of an emperor, but also of a valiant man; and that he was not his own man

Cleopatra flieth.

(proving that true which an old man spake in mirth, that the soul of a lover lived in another body, and not in his own); he was so carried away with the vain love of this woman, as if he had been glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For when he saw Cleopatra's ship under sail, he forgot, forsook, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarked upon a galley with five banks of oars, to follow her that had already begun to overthrow him, and would in the end be his utter destruction. When she knew his galley afar off, she lift up a sign in the poop of her ship; and so Antonius, coming to it, was plucked up where Cleopatra was: howbeit he saw her not at his first coming, nor she him, but went and sat down alone in the prow of his ship, and said never a word, clapping his head between both his hands. In the meantime came certain light brigantines of Cæsar's, that followed him hard. So Antonius straight turned the prow of his ship, and presently put the rest to flight, saving one Eurycles a Lacedæmonian, that followed him near, and pressed upon him with great courage, shaking a dart in his hand over the prow, as though he would have thrown it unto Antonius. Antonius seeing him, came to the forecastle of his ship, and asked him what he was that durst follow Antonius so near? "I am," answered he, "Eurycles the son of Lachares, who through Cæsar's good fortune seeketh to revenge the death of my father." This Lachares was condemned of felony, and beheaded by Antonius. But yet Eurycles durst not venture upon Antonius' ship, but set upon the other admiral galley (for there were two), and fell upon him with such a blow of his brazen spur that was so heavy and big, that he turned her round, and took her, with another that was laden with very rich stuff and carriage. After Eurycles had left Antonius, he turned again to his place, and sat down, speaking never a word, as he did before: and so

The soul of a lover liveth in another body.

Antonius flieth after Cleopatra.

lived three days alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arrived at the head of Tænarus,° there Cleopatra's women first brought Antonius and Cleopatra to speak together, and afterwards to sup and lie together. Then began there again a great number of merchants' ships to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this overthrow, who brought news, that his army by sea was overthrown, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then Antonius sent unto Canidius, to return with his army into Asia by Macedon. Now for himself, he determined to cross over into Africa, and took one of his carects° or hulks loden with gold and silver, and other rich carriage, and gave it unto his friends, commanding them to depart, and seek to save themselves. They answered him weeping, that they would neither do it, nor yet forsake him. Then Antonius very courteously and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart; and wrote unto Theophilus, governor of Corinth, that he would see them safe, and help to hide them in some secret place, until they had made their way and peace with Cæsar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his enfranchised bondmen that revolted from him, and yielded unto Cæsar, and afterwards went and dwelt at Corinth. And thus it stood with Antonius. Now for his army by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of Actium, they held out a long time, and nothing troubled them more than a great boisterous wind that rose full in the prows of their ships; and yet with much ado his navy was at length overthrown, five hours within night.° There were not slain above five thousand men: but yet there were three hundred ships taken, as Octavius Cæsar writeth himself in his Commentaries. Many plainly saw Antonius fly, and yet could very hardly believe it, that he, that had nineteen

Antonius licenceth his friends to depart, and giveth them a ship loden with gold and silver.

Antonius' navy overthrown by Cæsar.

legions whole by land, and twelve thousand horsemen upon the sea-side, would so have forsaken them, and have fled so cowardly, as if he had not oftentimes proved both the one and the other fortune, and that he had not been thoroughly acquainted with the diverse changes and fortunes of battles. And yet his soldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by some means or other unto them. Furthermore, they shewed themselves so valiant and faithful unto him, that after they certainly knew he was fled, they kept themselves whole together seven days.

Antonius' legions do yield themselves unto Octavius Cæsar.

In the end Canidius, Antonius' lieutenant, flying by night, and forsaking his camp, when they saw themselves thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yielded themselves unto the stronger. This done, Cæsar sailed towards Athens, and there made peace with the Grecians, and divided the rest of the corn that was taken up for Antonius' army, unto the towns and cities of Greece, the which had been brought to extreme misery and poverty, clean without money, slaves, horse, and other beasts of carriage. So that my grandfather Nicarchus told that all the citizens of our city of Chæronea° (not one excepted) were driven themselves to carry a certain measure of corn on their shoulders to the sea-side, that lieth directly over against the ile of Anticyra, and yet were they driven thither with whips. They carried it thus but once: for the second time that they were charged again to make the like carriage, all the corn being ready to be carried, news came that Antonius had lost the battle, and so scaped our poor city. For Antonius' soldiers and deputies fled immediately, and the citizens divided the corn amongst them. Antonius being arrived in Lybia, he sent Cleopatra before into Egypt from the city of Parætonium; and he himself remained very solitary, having only two of his friends with him with whom he wandered up and down, both of them orators, the one

Aristocrates a Grecian, and the other Lucilius a Roman: of whom we have written in another place, that, at the battle where Brutus was overthrown by the city of Philippes, he came and willingly put himself into the hands of those that followed Brutus, saying that it was he: because Brutus in the meantime might have liberty to save himself. And afterwards, because Antonius saved his life, he still remained with him, and was very faithful and friendly unto him till his death. But when Antonius heard that he whom he had trusted with the government of Lybia, and unto whom he had given the charge of his army there, had yielded unto Cæsar, he was so mad withal, that he would have slain himself for anger, had not his friends about him withstood him, and kept him from it. So he went unto Alexandria, and there found Cleopatra about a wonderful enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the Red Sea and the sea between the lands that point upon the coast of Egypt, there is a little piece of land that divideth both the seas, and separateth Africk from Asia: the which streight° is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not above three hundred furlongs over. Cleopatra went about to lift her ships out of the one sea, and to hale them over the bank into the other sea: that when her ships were come into the gulf of Arabia, she might then carry all her gold and silver away, and so with a great company of men go and dwell in some place about the Ocean Sea, far from the sea *Mediterraneum*, to escape the danger and bondage of this war. But now, because the Arabians dwelling about the city of Petra, did burn the first ships that were brought to land, and that Antonius thought that his army by land which he left at Actium was yet whole, she left off her enterprise, and determined to keep° all the ports and passages of her realm.

Lucilius spoken of in Brutus' life.

The fidelity of Lucilius unto Antonius.

The wonderful attempt of Cleopatra.

Antonius, he forsook the city and company of his friends, and built him a house in the sea by the ile of Pharos, upon certain forced mounts which he caused to be cast into the sea, and dwelt there as a man that banished himself from all men's company: saying that he would lead Timon's life, because he had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered unto Timon: and that for the unthankfulness of those he had done good unto, and whom he took to be his friends, he was angry with all men and would trust no man. This Timon was a citizen of Athens, that lived about the war of Peloponnesus, as appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes'° comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man unto mankind, to shun all other men's companies but the company of young Alcibiades,° a bold and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. Apemantus wondering at it, asked him the cause what he meant to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: Timon answered him, "I do it," said he, "because I know that one day he shall do great mischief unto the Athenians." This Timon sometimes would have Apemantus in his company, because he was much like of his nature and conditions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the feast called *Choæ* at Athens (to wit, the feasts of the dead where they make sprinklings and sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by themselves, Apemantus said unto the other: "O, here is a trim banquet, Timon!" Timon answered again: "Yea," said he, "so thou wert not here." It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a time (the people being assembled in the market-place about dispatch of some affairs) got up into the pulpit for orations, where the orators commonly use to speak unto the people: and silence being

Antonius followeth the life and example of Timon Misanthropos the Athenian.

Plato and Aristophanes' testimony of Timon Misanthropos, what he was.

made, every man listening to hear what he would say, because it was a wonder to see him in that place, at length he began to speak in this manner: "My lords of Athens, I have a little yard at my house where there groweth a fig-tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselves: and because I mean to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that, before the fig-tree be cut down, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time go hang yourselves." He died in the city of Hales, and was buried upon the sea-side. Now it chanced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tomb round about, that no man could come to it: and upon the same was written this epitaph:

The epitaph of Timon Misanthropos.

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft:
Seek not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches left!

It is reported that Timon himself, when he lived, made this epitaph: for that which is commonly rehearsed was not his, but made by the poet Callimachus:

Here lie I, Timon, who alive all living men did hate:
Pass by and curse thy fill: but pass, and stay not here thy gate.°

Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but this little shall suffice at this present.

But now to return to Antonius again. Canidius himself came to bring him news, that he had lost all his army by land at Actium: on the other side he was advertised also, that Herodes° king of Jurie,° who had also certain legions and bands with him, was revolted unto Cæsar, and all the other kings in like manner: so that, saving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him: and it seemed that he was contented to forgo all his hope, and so to be rid of

Antonius' rioting in Alexandria after his great loss and overthrow.

all his cares and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitary house he had built by the sea, which he called *Timoneon*, and Cleopatra received him into her royal palace. He was no sooner come thither, but he straight set all the city on rioting and banqueting again, and himself to liberality and gifts. He caused the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra to be enrolled (according to the manner of the Romans) amongst the number of young men: and gave Antyllus, his eldest son he had by Fulvia, the man's gown, the which was a plain gown without gard° or embroderie, of purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, banqueting and dancing in Alexandria many days together. Indeed they did break their first order they had set down, which they called *Amimetobion* (as much to say, 'no life comparable'), and did set up another, which they called *Synapothanumenon* (signifying the order and agreement of those that will die together), the which in exceeding sumptuousness and cost was not inferior to the first. For their friends made themselves to be enrolled in this order of those that would die together, and so made great feasts one to another: for every man, when it came to his turn, feasted their whole company and fraternity. Cleopatra in the meantime was very careful° in gathering all sorts of poisons together, to destroy men. Now to make proof of those poisons which made men die with least pain, she tried it upon condemned men in prison. For when she saw the poisons that were sudden and vehement, and brought speedy death with grievous torments; and in contrary manner, that such as were more mild and gentle had not that quick speed and force to make one die suddenly: she afterwards went about to prove° the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applied unto men in

Toga virilis.

Antyllus the eldest son of Antonius, by his wife Fulvia.

An order erected by Antonius and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumenon, revoking the former called Amimetobion.

Cleopatra very busy in proving the force of poison.

her sight, some in one sort, some in another. So when she had daily made divers and sundry proofs, she found none of them all she had proved so fit as the biting of an aspick,° the which causeth only a heaviness of the head, without swooning or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleep, with a little sweat in the face; and so by little and little taketh away the senses and vital powers, no living creature perceiving that the patients feel any pain. For they are so sorry when any body awaketh them and taketh them up, as those that be taken out of a sound sleep are very heavy and desirous to sleep.

The property of the biting of an aspick.

This notwithstanding, they sent ambassadors unto Octavius Cæsar in Asia, Cleopatra requesting the realm of Egypt for their children, and Antonius praying that he might be suffered to live at Athens like a private man, if Cæsar would not let him remain in Egypt. And because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that some were fled, and those that remained they did not greatly trust, they were enforced to send Euphronius, the schoolmaster of their children. For Alexas Laodicean, who was brought into Antonius' house and favour by means of Timagenes, and afterwards was in greater credit with him than any other Grecian (for that he had ever been one of Cleopatra's ministers to win Antonius, and to overthrow all his good determinations to use his wife Octavia well): him Antonius had sent unto Herodes king of Jurie, hoping still to keep him his friend, that he should not revolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed Antonius. For where he should have kept Herodes from revolting from him, he persuaded him to turn to Cæsar: and trusting king Herodes, he presumed to come in Cæsar's presence. Howbeit Herodes did him no pleasure, for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chains to his own country, and there by Cæsar's commandment put to death. Thus was

Antonius and Cleopatra send ambassadors unto Octavius Cæsar.

Alexas, in Antonius' life-time, put to death for betraying of him. Furthermore, Cæsar would not grant unto Antonius' requests: but for Cleopatra, he made her answer, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put Antonius to death, or drive him out of her country. Therewithal he sent Thyreus one of his men unto her, a very wise and discreet man: who bringing letters of credit from a young lord unto a noble lady, and that besides greatly liked her beauty, might easily by his eloquence have persuaded her. He was longer in talk with her than any man else was, and the queen herself also did him great honour: insomuch as he made Antonius jealous of him. Whereupon Antonius caused him to be taken and well-favouredly whipped, and so sent him unto Cæsar: and bad him tell him, that he made him angry with him, because he shewed himself proud and disdainful towards him; and now specially, when he was easy to be angered, by reason of his present misery. "To be short, if this mislike thee," said he, "thou hast Hipparchus, one of my enfranchised bondmen, with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whip him at thy pleasure, that we may cry quittance." From henceforth Cleopatra, to clear herself of the suspicion he had of her, made more of him than ever she did. For first of all, where she did solemnize the day of her birth very meanly and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune, she now in contrary manner did keep it with such solemnity, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousness and magnificence: so that the guests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poor, went away rich. Now things passing thus, Agrippa by divers letters sent one after another unto Cæsar, prayed him to return to Rome, because the affairs there did of necessity require his person and presence. Thereupon he did defer the war till the next year following: but when winter was done, he returned again through Syria by the coast of Africa, to make wars against Antonius and his other captains. When the city of Pelusium

Alexas' treason justly punished.

was taken, there ran a rumour in the city, that Seleucus (by Cleopatra's consent) had surrendered the same. But to clear herself that she did not, Cleopatra brought Seleucus' wife and children unto Antonius, to be revenged of them at his pleasure. Furthermore, Cleopatra had long before made many sumptuous tombs and monuments, as well for excellency of workmanship, as for height and greatness of building, joining hard to the temple of Isis. Thither she caused to be brought all the treasure and precious things she had of the ancient kings her predecessors: as gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, and besides all that, a marvellous number of torches, faggots, and flax. So Octavius Cæsar, being afraid to lose such a treasure and mass of riches, and that this woman for spite would set it on fire and burn it every whit, he always sent some one or other unto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whilst he in the meantime drew near the city with his army. So Cæsar came and pitched his camp hard by the city, in the place where they run and manage their horses. Antonius made a sally upon him, and fought very valiantly, so that he drave Cæsar's horsemen back, fighting with his men even into their camp. Then he came again to the palace, greatly boasting of this victory, and sweetly kissed Cleopatra, armed as he was when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of arms unto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmish. Cleopatra, to reward his manliness, gave him an armour and headpiece of clean gold: howbeit the man-at-arms, when he had received this rich gift, stole away by night and went to Cæsar. Antonius sent again to challenge Cæsar to fight with him hand to hand. Cæsar answered him, "That he had many other ways to die than so." Then Antonius, seeing there was no way more honourable for him to die than fighting valiantly, he determined to set up his rest,° both by sea and land. So being

Pelusium was yielded up to Octavius Cæsar.

Cleopatra's monuments set up by the temple of Isis.

at supper (as it is reported) he commanded his officers and household servants that waited on him at his board, that they should fill his cups full, and make as much of him as they could: "For," said he, "you know not whether you shall do so much for me to-morrow or not, or whether you shall serve another master: and it may be you shall see me no more, but a dead body." This notwithstanding, perceiving that his friends and men fell a-weeping to hear him say so, to salve that he had spoken, he added this more unto it, 'that he would not lead them to battle, where he thought not rather safely to return with victory, than valiantly to die with honour.' Furthermore, the selfsame night, within a little of midnight, when all the city was quiet, full of fear and sorrow, thinking what would be the issue and end of this war, it is said that suddenly they heard a marvellous sweet harmony of sundry sorts of instruments of music, with the cry of a multitude of people, as they had been dancing, and had sung as they use in Bacchus' feasts, with movings and turnings after the manner of the Satyrs: and it seemed, that this dance went through the city unto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe, that made this noise they heard, went out of the city at that gate. Now such as in reason sought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god unto whom Antonius bare singular devotion to counterfeit and resemble him, that did forsake them. The next morning by break of day, he went to set those few footmen he had in order upon the hills adjoining unto the city: and there he stood to behold his galleys which departed from the haven, and rowed against the galleys of the enemies, and so stood still, looking what exploits his soldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come near unto them, they first saluted Cæsar's men; and then Cæsar's men resaluted them also, and of two armies made but one: and then did all together row toward the city.

Strange noises heard, and nothing seen.

When Antonius saw that his men did forsake him, and yielded unto Cæsar, and that his footmen were broken and overthrown, he then fled into the city, crying out that Cleopatra had betrayed him unto them with whom he had made war for her sake. Then she, being afraid of his fury, fled into the tomb which he had caused to be made, and there she locked the doors unto her, and shut all the springs of the locks with great bolts, and in the meantime sent unto Antonius to tell him that she was dead. Antonius believing it, said unto himself: "What doest thou look for further, Antonius, sith spiteful fortune hath taken from thee the only joy thou hadst, for whom thou yet reservedst thy life?" When he had said these words, he went into a chamber and unarmed himself, and being naked, said thus: "O Cleopatra, it grieveth me not that I have lost thy company, for I will not be long from thee: but I am sorry that, having been so great a captain and emperor, I am indeed condemned to be judged of less courage and noble mind than a woman." Now he had a man of his called Eros, whom he loved and trusted much, and whom he had long before caused to swear unto him, that he should kill him when he did command him: and then he willed him to keep his promise. His man, drawing his sword, lift it up as though he had meant to have stricken his master: but turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into himself, and fell down dead at his master's foot. Then said Antonius: "O noble Eros, I thank thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should do to myself, which thou couldest not do for me." Therewithal he took his sword, and thrust it into his belly, and so fell down upon a little bed. The wound he had killed him not presently, for the blood stinted a little when he was laid:

Antonius' navy do yield themselves unto Cæsar.

Antonius overthrown by Octavius Cæsar.

Cleopatra flieth into her tomb or monument.

Eros, Antonius' servant, slew himself.

Antonius did thrust his sword into himself, but died not presently.

and when he came somewhat to himself again, he prayed them that were about him to despatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out, tormenting himself: until at last there came a secretary unto him (called Dionedes) who was commanded to bring him into the tomb or monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that she was alive, he very earnestly prayed his men to carry his body thither, and so he was carried in his men's arms into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windows, and cast out certain chains and ropes, in the which Antonius was trussed[a]: and Cleopatra her own self, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monuments, trised[a] Antonius up. They that were present to behold it said they never saw so pitiful a sight. For they plucked up poor Antonius, all bloody as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death: who holding up his hands to Cleopatra, raised up himself as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him up: but Cleopatra, stooping down with her head, putting to all her strength to her uttermost power, did lift him up with much ado, and never let go her hold, with the help of the women beneath that bad her be of good courage, and were as sorry to see her labour so as she herself. So when she had gotten him in after that sort, and laid him on a bed, she rent her garments upon him, clapping her breast, and scratching her face and stomach. Then she dried up his blood that had bewrayed[a] his face, and called him her lord, her husband, and emperor, forgetting her own misery and calamity for the pity and compassion she took of him. Antonius made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was athirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had drunk, he earnestly prayed her, and persuaded her, that she would seek to save her

Antonius carried unto Cleopatra's tomb.

A lamentable sight to see Antonius and Cleopatra.

life, if she could possible, without reproach and dishonour: and that chiefly she should trust Proculeius above any man else about Cæsar. And as for himself, that she should not lament nor sorrow for the miserable change of his fortune at the end of his days: but rather that she should think him the more fortunate, for the former triumphs and honours he had received; considering that while he lived, he was the noblest and greatest prince of the world; and that now he was overcome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Roman by another Roman. As Antonius gave the last gasp, Proculeius came that was sent from Cæsar. For after Antonius had thrust his sword in himself, as they carried him into the tombs and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his guard (called Dercetæus) took his sword with which he had stricken himself, and hid it: then he secretly stole away, and brought Octavius Cæsar the first news of his death, and shewed him his sword that was bloodied. Cæsar hearing this news, straight withdrew himself into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with tears, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had been his friend and brother-in law, his equal in the empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploits and battles. Then he called for all his friends and shewed them the letters Antonius had written to him, and his answers also sent him again, during their quarrel and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him.

The death of Antonius.

Octavius Cæsar lamenteth Antonius' death.

After this, he sent Proculeius, and commanded him to do what he could possible to get Cleopatra alive, fearing lest otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her alive to Rome, she would marvellously beautify and set out his triumph. But Cleopatra would never put herself into Proculeius' hands,

Proculeius sent by Octavius Cæsar to bring Cleopatra alive.

although they spake together. For Proculeius came to the gates that were thick and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes through the which her voice might be heard; and so they without understood, that Cleopatra demanded the kingdom of Egypt for her sons: and that Proculeius answered her that she should be of good cheer, and not be afraid to refer all unto Cæsar. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer unto Cæsar: who immediately sent Gallus to speak once again with her, and bad him purposely hold her in talk, whilst Proculeius did set up a ladder against that high window by the which Antonius was trised up, and came down into the monument with two of his men, hard by the gate where Cleopatra stood to hear what Gallus said unto her. One of her women which was shut up in her monuments with her, saw Proculeius by chance as he came down, and skreeked out: "O poor Cleopatra, thou art taken." Then when she saw Proculeius behind her as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed herself in with a short dagger she wore of purpose by her side. But Proculeius came suddenly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her: "Cleopatra, first thou shalt do thyself great wrong, and secondly unto Cæsar, to deprive him of the occasion and opportunity openly to shew his bounty and mercy, and to give his enemies cause to accuse the most courteous and noble prince that ever was, and to appeach° him, as though he were a cruel and merciless man, that were not to be trusted." So even as he spake the word, he took her dagger from her, and shook her clothes for fear of any poison hidden about her. Afterwards, Cæsar sent one of his infranchised men called Epaphroditus, whom he straightly charged to look well unto her, and to beware in any case that she made not herself away: and for the rest, to use her with all the courtesy possible. And for himself, he in the meantime entered the city of Alexandria, and

Cleopatra taken.

(as he went) talked with the philosopher Arrius, and held him by the hand, to the end that his countrymen should reverence him the more, because they saw Cæsar so highly esteem and honour him. Then he went into the show-place of exercises, and so up to his chair of state which was prepared for him of a great height: and there, according to his commandment, all the people of Alexandria were assembled, who, quaking for fear, fell down on their knees before him and craved mercy. Cæsar bad them all stand up, and told them openly that he forgave the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this war: first, for the founder's sake of the same city, which was Alexander the Great: secondly, for the beauty of the city, which he much esteemed and wondered at: thirdly, for the love he bare unto his very° friend Arrius. Thus did Cæsar honour Arrius, who craved pardon for himself and many others, and specially for Philostratus, the eloquentest man of all the sophisters° and orators of his time, for present and sudden speech: howbeit, he falsely named himself an Academic philosopher. Therefore Cæsar, that hated his nature and conditions, would not hear his suit. Thereupon he let his grey beard grow long, and followed Arrius step by step in a long mourning gown, still buzzing in his ears this Greek verse:

Cæsar took the city of Alexandria.

Cæsar greatly honoured Arrius the philosopher.

Philostratus the eloquentest orator in his time for present speech upon a sudden.

> A wise man, if that he be wise indeed,
> May by a wise man have the better speed.

Cæsar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver Philostratus of his fear, but to rid Arrius of malice and envy that might have fallen out against him, he pardoned him. Now touching Antonius' sons, Antyllus, his eldest son by Fulvia, was slain,

Antyllus, Antonius' eldest son by Fulvia, slain.

because his schoolmaster Theodorus did betray him unto the soldiers, who strake off his head. And the villain took a precious stone of great value from his neck, the which he did sew in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was found about him, and so Cæsar trussed him up for it. For Cleopatra's children, they were very honorably kept, with their governors and train that waited on them. But for Cæsarion, who was said to be Julius Cæsar's son, his mother Cleopatra had sent him unto the Indians through Ethiopia, with a great sum of money. But one of his governors also, called Rhodon, even such another as Theodorus, persuaded him to return into his country, and told him that Cæsar sent for him to give him his mother's kingdom. So, as Cæsar was determining with himself what he should do, Arrius said unto him:

The saying of Arrius the philosopher.

Too many Cæsars is not good,

alluding unto a certain verse of Homer, that saith:

Cæsarion, Cleopatra's son, put to death.

Too many lords doth not well.

Therefore Cæsar did put Cæsarion to death, after the death of his mother Cleopatra.

Many princes, great kings, and captains, did crave Antonius' body of Octavius Cæsar, to give him honourable burial: but Cæsar would never take it from Cleopatra, who did sumptuously and royally bury him with her own hands, whom Cæsar suffered to take as much as she would to bestow upon his funerals. Now was she altogether overcome with sorrow and passion of mind, for she had knocked her breast so pitifully, that she had martyred° it, and in divers places had raised ulcers and inflammations, so that she fell into a fever withal; whereof she was

Cleopatra burieth Antonius.

very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to abstain from meat, and that so she might have died easily without any trouble. She had a physician called Olympus, whom she made privy to her intent, to the end he should help to rid her out of her life: as Olympus writeth himself, who wrote a book of all these things. But Cæsar mistrusted the matter by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in fear, and threatened her to put her children to shameful death. With these threats, Cleopatra for fear yielded straight, as she would have yielded unto strokes: and afterwards suffered herself to be cured and dieted as they listed.

Olympus, Cleopatra's physician.

Shortly after, Cæsar came himself in person to see her, and to comfort her. Cleopatra, being laid upon a little low bed in poor estate (when she saw Cæsar come into her chamber), suddenly rose up, naked in her smock, and fell down at his feet marvellously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her hair from her head, as also for that she had martyred all her face with her nails; and besides, her voice was small and trembling, her eyes sunk into her head with continual blubbering; and moreover, they might see the most part of her stomach torn in sunder. To be short, her body was not much better than her mind: yet her good grace and comeliness and the force of her beauty was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ugly and pitiful state of hers, yet she shewed herself within, by her outward looks and countenance. When Cæsar had made her lie down again, and sat by her bedside, Cleopatra began to clear and excuse herself for that she had done, laying all to the fear she had of Antonius: Cæsar, in contrary manner, reproved her in every point. Then she suddenly altered her speech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were afraid to die, and desirous to live. At

Cæsar came to see Cleopatra.

Cleopatra a martyred creature through her own passion and fury.

length, she gave him a brief and memorial of all the ready money and treasure she had. But by chance there stood one Seleucus by, one of her treasurers, who, to seem a good servant, came straight to Cæsar to disprove Cleopatra, that she had not set in° all, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and took him by the hair of the head, and boxed him well-favouredly. Cæsar fell a-laughing and parted the fray. "Alas," said she, "O Cæsar: is not this a great shame and reproach, that thou having vouchsafed to take the pains to come unto me, and done me this honour, poor wretch and caitiff° creature, brought into this pitiful and miserable state: and that mine own servants should come now to accuse me? though it may be I have reserved some jewels and trifles meet for women, but not for me (poor soul) to set out myself withal, but meaning to give some pretty presents and gifts unto Octavia and Livia, that they, making means and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favour and mercy upon me." Cæsar was glad to hear her say so, persuading himself thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answer, that he did not only give her that to dispose of at her pleasure which she had kept back, but further promised to use her more honourably and bountifully than she would think for: and so he took his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himself. There was a young gentleman, Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Cæsar's very great familiars, and besides did bear no ill will unto Cleopatra. He sent her word secretly (as she had requested him) that Cæsar determined to take his journey through Syria, and that within three days he would send her away before with her children.

Seleucus, one of Cleopatra's treasurers.

Cleopatra beat her treasurer before Octavius Cæsar.

Cleopatra's words unto Cæsar.

Cleopatra finely deceiveth Octavius Cæsar, as though she desired to live.

When this was told Cleopatra, she requested Cæsar that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last oblations of the dead unto the soul of Antonius. This being granted her, she was carried to the place where his tomb was, and there falling down on her knees, embracing the tomb with her women, the tears running down her cheeks, she began to speak in this sort: "O my dear lord Antonius, it is not long sithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer unto thee the funeral sprinklings and oblations, being a captive and prisoner; and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine with blows, which they carefully guard and keep only to triumph of thee: look therefore henceforth for no other honours, offerings, nor sacrifices from me: for these are the last which Cleopatra can give thee, sith now they carry her away. Whilst we lived together, nothing could sever our companies: but now, at our death, I fear me they will make us change our countries. For as thou, being a Roman, hast been buried in Egypt: even so, wretched creature, I, an Egyptian, shall be buried in Italy, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authority, sith our gods here have forsaken us, suffer not thy true friend and lover to be carried away alive, that in me they triumph of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one self tomb with thee. For though my griefs and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could less bear withal, than this small time which I have been driven to live alone without thee."

Cleopatra's lamentation over Antonius' tomb.

Then having ended these doleful plaints, and crowned the tomb with garlands and sundry nosegays, and marvellous lovingly embraced the same, she commanded they should prepare her bath; and when she had bathed and washed herself, she fell to her meat, and was sumptuously served. Now whilst she was at dinner, there came a countryman and brought her a

basket. The soldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened his basket, and took out the leaves that covered the figs, and shewed them that they were figs he brought. They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figs. The countryman laughed to hear them, and bade them take some if they would. They believed he told them truly, and so bade him carry them in. After Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certain table written and sealed unto Cæsar, and commanded them all to go out of the tombs where she was, but the two women; then she shut the doors to her. Cæsar, when he had received this table, and began to read her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to have gone thither himself: howbeit, he sent one before in all haste that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sudden: for those whom Cæsar sent unto her ran thither in all haste possible, and found the soldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doors, they found Cleopatra stark-dead, laid upon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royal robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feet: and her other woman (called Charmion) half dead, and trembling, trimming the diadem which Cleopatra wore upon her head. One of the soldiers seeing her, angrily said unto her: "Is that well done, Charmion?" "Very well," said she again, "and meet for a princess descended from the race of so many noble kings:" she said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed. Some report that this aspick was brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that she had commanded them to hide it under the fig-leaves, that when she should think to take out the figs, the aspick should bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she would have taken away the leaves for the figs, she

The death of Cleopatra.

Cleopatra's two waiting women dead with her.

perceived it, and said, "Art thou here, then?" And so, her arm being naked, she put it to the aspick to be bitten. Others say again, she kept it in a box, and that she did prick and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the aspick, being angered withal, leapt out with great fury, and bit her in the arm. Howbeit few can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had hidden poison in a hollow razor which she carried in the hair of her head; and yet was there no mark seen on her body, or any sign discerned that she was poisoned, neither also did they find this serpent in her tomb: but it was reported only, that there was seen certain fresh steps or tracks where it had gone, on the tomb-side toward the sea, and specially by the door-side. Some say also that they found two little pretty° bitings in her arm, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth Cæsar himself gave credit unto, because in his triumph he carried Cleopatra's image, with an aspick biting of her arm. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Cæsar, though he was marvellous sorry for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondered at her noble mind and courage, and therefore commanded she should be nobly buried, and laid by Antonius: and willed also that her two women should have honourable burial.

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an aspick.

The image of Cleopatra, carried in triumph at Rome with an aspick biting of her arm.

Cleopatra died being eight and thirty years old, after she had reigned two and twenty years, and governed about fourteen of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he lived three and fifty years: and others say, six and fifty. All his statues, images, and metals, were plucked down and overthrown, saving those of Cleopatra, which stood still in their places, by means of Archibius one of her friends, who gave Cæsar a thousand talents that they should not be handled as those of Antonius were. Antonius left seven children by three wives, of the which Cæsar did put Antyllus (the eldest son he had by Fulvia) to death.

The age of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Octavia his wife took all the rest, and brought them up with hers, and married Cleopatra, Antonius' daughter, unto king Juba, a marvellous courteous and goodly prince. And Antonius (the son of Fulvia) came to be so great, that next unto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimation about Cæsar, and next unto the children of Livia, which were the second in estimation, he had the third place. Furthermore, Octavia having had two daughters by her first husband Marcellus, and a son also called Marcellus, Cæsar married his daughter unto that Marcellus, and so did adopt him for his son. And Octavia also married one of her daughters unto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was dead, after he had been married a while, Octavia, perceiving that her brother Cæsar was very busy to choose some one among his friends, whom he trusted best, to make his son-in-law, she persuaded him that Agrippa should marry his daughter (Marcellus' widow), and leave her own daughter. Cæsar first was contented withal, and then Agrippa: and so she afterwards took away her daughter and married her unto Antonius; and Agrippa married Julia, Cæsar's daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of Octavia and Antonius: Domitius Ænobarbus married the one; and the other, which was Antonia, so fair and virtuous a young lady, was married unto Drusus, the son of Livia, and son-in-law of Cæsar. Of this marriage came Germanicus and Clodius°: of the which, Clodius afterwards came to be emperor. And of the sons of Germanicus, the one whose name was Caius° came also to be emperor: who after he had licentiously reigned a time, was slain, with his wife and daughter. Agrippina also (having a son by her first husband Ænobarbus, called Lucius Domitius) was afterwards married unto Clodius, who adopted her son, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was emperor in our time, who slew his own mother, and had almost destroyed the empire of Rome through his madness and wicked life, being the fifth emperor of Rome after Antonius.

Of Antonius' issue came emperors.

NOTES

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR

Page 1, line 1. **At what time Scylla was made lord of all.** For an account of the struggle between Marius and Scylla (Sulla), and their respective parties, see any history of Rome, referring to the period between 101 and 78 B.C. Scylla is now written Sulla.

l. 7. **his**, Cæsar's.

l. 21. **Sabines**, a people living chiefly in the mountains north-northeast of Rome.

Page 2, line 2. **Bithynia**, a country of Asia Minor.

l. 12. **Cilicians**, people of Cilicia, a country of southeastern Asia Minor.

l. 22. **passed**, cared.

l. 28. **Miletum**, a town of Caria, Asia Minor.

l. 29. **presently**, at once, soon.

l. 33. **for**, as for. **Pergamus**, a city of Asia Minor, fifty miles north of Smyrna: the modern Bergama.

Page 3, line 3. **Prætor**, a chief justice, with judges under him to try causes, the prætor himself to give sentence.

l. 13. **Rhodes**, an island in the Ægean Sea, now a possession of Turkey, and still known by its ancient name.

l. 14. **Apollonius**, a Greek teacher of rhetoric, who lived about 80 B.C.

l. 26. **Cicero**, Marcus Tullius Cicero, the great orator. Born 106 B.C.; assassinated 43 B.C. **Cato**, Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis, great grandson of Cato the Censor. Born at Rome 95 B.C. Committed suicide at Utica 46 B.C.

l. 30. **Dolabella**, Publius Cornelius Dolabella, a son-in-law of Cicero, killed in the civil war 43 B.C. while taking part with Antony against the conspirators.

Page 4, line 6. **wan**, won.

l. 22. **in sight**, it was evident.

Page 5, line 11. **Marius**. See note, page 249.

l. 24. **where**, whereas.

Page 6, line 13. **Ædilis**, Ædile, a Roman official, who took care of the repairs of temples and other buildings, saw that streets and conduits were kept clean, and provided for solemn funerals and plays.

l. 26. **ruff**, height.

l. 32. **Cimbres**, Cimbri, a German tribe which, together with the Teutons, threatened Rome with destruction in the years 105 to 101 B.C.

Page 7, line 16. **kinred**, kindred.

l. 18. **Catulus Luctatius**, a Roman politician, who supported Cicero against Catiline. Died 65 B.C.

l. 28. **chief bishop**, Pontifex Maximus, the chief priest of Rome.

l. 30. **Isauricus**. Publius Servilius, surnamed Isauricus for his victories over the people of Isauria, a country of Asia Minor.

Page 8, line 15. **bewray**, betray.

l. 16. **Catiline**, Lucius Sergius Catilina, a Roman politician and conspirator. See Roman history for the years 64–62 B.C., and Cicero's four Catilinarian orations.

l. 22. **Lentulus and Cethegus**, conspirators with Catiline, executed in prison.

l. 25. **convinced**, convicted.

Page 9, line 5. **passing**, surpassing.

l. 16. **Curio**, Caius Scribonius Curio, a violent and unprincipled man, partisan of Cæsar.

l. 33. **frank**, free.

Page 10, line 2. **five hundred and fifty myriads.** According to Professor Skeat, the myriad is here a sum of ten thousand drachmæ.

l. 21. **Phrygians**, people of Phrygia in Asia Minor.

l. 22. **Midas**, the Midas of the classic myths.

Page 11, line 16. **withal**, with.

Page 12, line 26. **quit**, acquit.

l. 27. **province of Spain**, farther Spain: Lusitania and Bætica, now Portugal and Andalusia.

l. 31. **Crassus**, Marcus Licinius Crassus Dives, a very wealthy Roman general and statesman, triumvir with Pompey and Cæsar in the first triumvirate. He was killed 53 B.C., during an expedition against the Parthians.

l. 33. **Pompey**, Cneius Pompeius, surnamed Magnus. Born 106, died 48 B.C.

Page 13, line 2. **eight hundred and thirty talents.** The Attic talent, which we may suppose Plutarch to have meant, had, as a denomination of silver money, a value of about $1180.

l. 22. **ensigns**, regiments.

l. 26. **took order**, arranged.

Page 14, line 12. **vouching**, citing.

l. 24. **by colour**, under cover.

Page 15, line 1. **happy**, fortunate.

l. 21. **let**, hinder.

l. 23. **target**, shield.

l. 33. **made sure before**, promised before.

l. 34. **him**, Servilius Cæpio.

Page 16, line 2. **Piso**, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, the subject of an invective speech of Cicero, said to be the severest ever uttered.

l. 8. **Empire of Rome.** The government of Rome is meant here.

l. 21. **Illyria**, a region on the eastern side of the Adriatic, north of Greece. Now Montenegro.

l. 25. **Tribunes**, officers chosen by the plebeians to protect them against the oppression of the patricians. They had power to veto the measures of the senate.

l. 34. **away with**, put up with.

Page 17, line 17. **Gauls**, a people occupying, roughly speaking, the countries now known as France, Belgium, and Switzerland. For Cæsar's own account of his deeds done in these countries, see his *Commentaries on the Gallic War*.

l. 31. **the one**, first.

l. 32. **another**, again.

Page 18, line 28. **Dyrrachium**, a seaport on the Adriatic. Now Durazzo.

Page 19, line 19. **Scipio**, Quintus Metellus Scipio, originally Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, but adopted by Quintus Cæcilius Metellus. This Scipio sided with Pompey against Cæsar.

Page 20, line 9. **falling sickness**, epilepsy.

l. 28. **Oppius**, Caius Oppius, a friend and contemporary of Cæsar, reputed author of the *History of the African War*.

Page 21, line 1. **sperage**, asparagus.

l. 2. **sallet-oil**, salad oil.

l. 17. **easing**, eaves.

l. 20. **Helvetians and Tigurinians.** The Helvetians were a Gallic people who occupied a portion of what is now Switzerland. The Tigurini were a tribe of the Helvetii, and are said to have occupied the part of Switzerland now known as Zurich. See Cæsar's *Gallic War*, Book I, Chapters 2–29.

l. 28. **Labienus**, Cæsar's lieutenant. He was killed in the battle of Munda, having deserted the cause of Cæsar for that of Pompey.

l. 34. **ray**, array.

Page 22, line 21. **river of Rheyn**, the Rhine.

l. 23. **Ariovistus.** See Cæsar's *Gallic War*, Book I, Chapters 30–54, for Cæsar's own account of the dealings with Ariovistus.

Page 23, line 1. **sith**, since.

l. 14. **where**, since.

l. 15. **abidden them**, stood against them.

Page 24, line 5. **Sequanes**, Sequani, a people separated from the Helvetii by Mt. Jura. See *Gallic War*, Book I, Chapter 9.

l. 11. **practise**, contrive.

l. 18. **advertised**, warned. **Belgæ**, a Gallic tribe living in the country bounded on the south by the Matrona (Marne) River and the Sequana (Seine), on the east and north by the Rhine, and on the west by the English Channel. *Gallic War*, Book I, Chapter 1 ; Book II, Chapters 1–14.

l. 33. **Nervians**, Nervii, a tribe of the Belgæ. Note the allusion to this battle in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, Act III, Scene ii, lines 174–177. Cæsar's own account of the affair is found in the *Gallic War*, Book II, Chapters 15–28.

Page 25, line 30. **at a stay**, in order.

Page 26, line 31. **Ipes and Tenterides**, Usipiles and Teuchtheri, German tribes. See *Gallic War*, Book IV, Chapter 16.

Page 27, line 4. **require**, ask for.

l. 11. **therewith**, thereupon.

l. 14. **Canutius**, an error for Tanusius.

l. 30. **built a bridge.** See *Gallic War*, Book IV, Chapter 17.

Page 28, line 12. **Suevians**, the Suevi. *Gallic War*, Book IV, Chapter 19.

l. 19. **the journey he made into England.** *Gallic War*, Book IV, Chapters 20–36.

l. 27. **inabitable**, habitable.

l. 28. **against**, next to.

Page 29, line 8. **tickle**, unstable.

l. 10. **rather**, more.

l. 17. **assay**, try.

l. 21. **Ambiorix**, a chief of the Eburones, a Gallic tribe. For Cæsar's account of the campaign against these people, see *Gallic War*, Book V, Chapters 24–54.

l. 22. **Cotta and Titurius**, lieutenants of Cæsar.

l. 25. **Quintus Cicero**, brother of the great orator.

Page 30, line 6. **rampiers**, ramparts.

l. 7. **because**, in order that.

l. 32. **marrishes**, marshes.

Page 31, line 3. **Vercingentorix**, a heroic chief of the Averni in Gaul. He surrendered to Cæsar in 52 B.C., was exhibited in Cæsar's triumph 45 B.C., and afterward, by Cæsar's order, beheaded.

l. 26. **post or currer**, letter carrier or courier.

l. 31. **Hedui**, Ædui, a powerful Gallic people who dwelt between the Arar (Saone) and the Ligeris (Loire) rivers.

Page 32, line 22. **Alexia**, Alesia, now identified with the small French town of Alise. Here Napoleon erected a statue of Vercingentorix.

l. 23. **inexpugnable**, impregnable.

l. 26. **without**, from without.

Page 34, line 19. **occasions of colour**, pretexts, excuses.

Page 35, line 18. **prorogue**, prolong.

l. 26. **Marcellus**, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consul with Servius Sulpicius, 51 B.C.

Page 36, line 13. **practice**, contrivance.

l. 18. **two hundred and fifty silver drachmas.** Owing to the different standards used, the variations in weight of silver coins of the same standard at different times, and to the varying ratio of gold to silver, it is difficult to give a correct modern value to ancient coins. As in Plutarch's time all coining was done by the Roman government, we may suppose him to have meant coins of the *Italic* standard. An Athenian drachm of the Italic standard contained as much silver as 11.31 cents of our money; but it must be remem-

bered that owing to the comparative scarcity of silver, its purchasing power was much greater than it is to-day.

Page 37, line 15. **in**, of.

l. 22. **Antonius**, Marcus Antonius, later triumvir with Octavius and Lepidus.

l. 24. **Scipio**. See note, page 252.

l. 34. **indifferently**, impartially.

Page 39, line 32. **waving**, inclining.

Page 40, line 1. **Asinius Pollio**, a Roman politician, commander, author, and patron of literature. Born about 76 B.C., died 6 A.D.

l. 12. **Ariminum**, the strategic key of Italy on the east, now Rimini.

Page 41, line 17. **then**, than.

l. 23. **garboil**, turmoil.

l. 28. **accustomed**, usual.

Page 42, line 14. **carriage**, baggage.

l. 15. **Corfinium**, a town in central Italy, near the modern Solmona. **Domitius**, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 54 B.C.

Page 43, line 6. **Brundusium**, more properly Brundisium, the ancient name of Brindisi.

l. 21. **words of course**, formal expressions. **colour**, disguise.

Page 44, line 12. **Petreius**, Marcus Petreius. He is said to have committed suicide as did Cato after Cæsar's victory at Thapsus. **Varro**, Marcus Terentius Varro, a famous Roman scholar and author, called "the most learned of the Romans." He was not only a great writer, but held various public offices in Rome, and followed Pompey as a lieutenant.

l. 20. **left**, ceased from.

Page 45, line 7. **Ionium**, Ionian.

l. 8. **Oricum**, a part of Illyria. **Apollonia**, a city of Illyria.

l. 16. **hale**, drag.

l. 31. **took on**, were angry.

Page 46, line 14. **Anius**, a river which flows into the sea near Apollonia.

l. 32. **laid on load**, toiled hard.

Page 47, line 11. **passingly**, exceedingly.

Page 48, line 10. **preventing**, anticipating.

l. 31. **straighted with**, straitened for.

Page 49, line 10. **tract**, length.

l. 27. **stuck in it**, continued.

l. 32. **contrarily**, on the other hand.

Page 50, line 5. **Faonius.** The poet of Act IV, Scene iii, *Julius Cæsar*.

l. 10. **Afranius**, Lucius Afranius Nepos, consul, 60 B.C.

l. 27. **Baccherians**, Bacchanalians, followers of Bacchus, god of wine.

Page 51, line 4. **in a bravery**, in a bragging mood.

l. 16. **footmen**, infantry.

l. 26. **fetch**, scheme.

Page 52, line 5. **element**, sky.

l. 14. **overthrown**, taken down.

l. 20. **battle**, battalion.

l. 26. **closely**, secretly.

Page 53, line 15. **hurling**, tumult.

Page 54, line 20. **breaking of themselves**, breaking their ranks.

Page 55, line 4. **shifted him**, changed his clothes.

l. 23. **Brutus**, Marcus Junius Brutus.

l. 31. **Tralles**, a town of Lydia, Asia Minor.

Page 56, line 3. **Titus Livius**, the greatest of Roman historians. He was born at Patavium (Padua) 59 B.C., and died there 17 A.D.

l. 19. **Guidians**, Cnidians, people of Cnidus, an ancient city of Caria, Asia Minor. **Theopompus**, an intimate friend of Cæsar. He must not be confounded with Theopompus of Chios, the Greek historian and rhetorician.

l. 22. **Alexandria**, the Egyptian seaport.

Page 57, line 17. **treen**, wooden, *i.e.* of tree. Cf. golden, earthen.

l. 34. **mean**, means.

Page 58, line 5. **fardle**, bundle.

l. 8. **conversation**, behavior.

l. 31. **Phar**, Pharos, the lighthouse, which was one of the seven wonders of the world.

Page 59, line 12. **his**, the king's.

l. 18. **Mithridates**, more correctly Mithradates the Great, king of Pontus. Born 120, died 63 B.C. His interesting career will be found in the Roman history for the period.

l. 19. **realm of Pont**, Pontus. See map of Asia Minor.

l. 21. **Cappadocia**. See map of Asia Minor.

l. 22. **Armenia the less**, that part of Armenia lying west of the Euphrates.

l. 23. **procuring**, persuading.

l. 27. **Zela**, a town of ancient Pontus. This victory occurred 47 B.C.

Page 60, line 11. **parts**, disposition.

l. 13. **which**, who, referring to Antonius. See *The Life of Marcus Antonius*, page 158, line 23.

l. 20. **Juba**, king of Numidia. Committed suicide 46 B.C.

l. 29. **a land**, on land. Cf. afoot, aboard. **hoised**, hoisted.

Page 61, line 2. **otherwise**, else.

l. 6. **Scipio African**, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major. Born about 234 B.C., died probably 183 B.C. See Roman history for the period of the Second Punic War.

l. 7. **eftsoons**, at once.

Page 62, line 3. **Thapsacus**, correctly Thapsus, a town in northern Africa, on the coast of what is now called Tunis.

l. 28. **Utica**, a city twenty-five miles northwest of Carthage. After the downfall of Carthage, the leading city of Africa.

Page 63, line 23. **allowing**, approving.

Page 64, line 11. **at the sharp**, with sharp weapons.

l. 31. **Munda**, a town in southern Spain, position undetermined. This victory, which occurred 45 B.C., is the one referred to in *Julius Cæsar*, Act I, Scene i, lines 37–56.

l. 34. **prease**, press.

Page 66, line 1. **abidden**, undergone.

l. 14. **rise**, rebel.

Page 67, line 11. **self**, same.

l. 24. **cóme out**, come to an end.

Page 68, line 2. **Hyrcania**, a region in Asia which bordered on the Caspian Sea and the Oxus. *Merchant of Venice*, Act II, Scene vii, line 41.

l. 4. **Scythia**. In ancient geography this is a name of varying meaning. It denoted northern and much of central Asia. As a Roman province, it comprised the lands immediately south of the mouths of the Danube.

l. 10. **straight**, strait, the isthmus of Corinth.

l. 13. **Circees**, Circeii.

l. 17. **sew**, drain, sewer.

l. 18. **Nomentum**, a town in ancient Italy, on the site of the modern Mentana.

l. 21. **Ostia**, the seaport of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber.

l. 23. **harborough**, harbor.

l. 27. **ordinance**, ordering.

Page 69, line 4. **listed**, pleased.

l. 8. **Numa Pompilius**, the legendary second king of Rome.

l. 11. **frame**, arrange.

l. 16. **nothing**, in no way.

l. 28. **Sibylline prophecies**, the books said to have been sold by the Sibyl of Cumæ to King Tarquin the Proud, the last king of Rome.

Page 70, line 20. **perfit**, perfect.

l. 33. **Lycæans**, people of Mt. Lycæum in Arcadia. **Arcadia**, a state of ancient Greece.

Page 71, line 7. **ferula**, ferule.

l. 33. **Brutus**, Lucius Junius Brutus. See Roman history for period about 509–10 B.C.

Page 72, line 14. **mo**, more.

l. 19. **Cassius.** Caius Cassius Longinus, the leading conspirator against Cæsar, and the Caius Cassius of *Julius Cæsar.*

Page 73, line 2. **bills**, letters, scrolls.

l. 10. **pretended**, plotted.

l. 22. **Strabo**, a celebrated Greek geographer, born in Pontus about 63 B.C., died about 24 A.D.

Page 74, line 6. **Marcus Lepidus**, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, a triumvir with Antony and Octavius after Cæsar's death.

l. 15. **fumbling**, rambling.

l. 20. **setting forth**, decoration.

l. 33. **like**, satisfy.

Page 75, line 1. **Decius Brutus**, correctly Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus.

l. 15. **should**, were to.

l. 17. **like of**, approve of.

l. 21. **mislike**, disapprove.

Page 76, line 16. **place.** What place did Shakespeare take these lines to refer to? What place is actually meant? Compare the accounts of the place in *The Life of Marcus Brutus*, pages 99–101, and in *Marcus Antonius*, page 162, lines 7–11.

l. 24. **Epicurus**, a Greek philosopher, who taught that pleasure is the only possible end of rational action, and that the ultimate pleasure is freedom. Concerning the gods, he asserted that they had no concern in human affairs.

Page 77, line 11. **Casca**, Publius Servilius Casca.

Page 78, line 13. **fact**, deed, act.

l. 31. **challenged**, claimed.

l. 32. **Caius**, Helvius Cinna, a Roman poet.

Page 79, line 31. **Cinna**, Lucius Cornelius Cinna, brother-in-law of Cæsar. Though not a member of the conspiracy, he approved of the assassination.

Page 80, line 5. **mean sort**, common people.

l. 34. **Philippes**, Philippi, a town in ancient Macedonia.

Page 81, line 16. **Abydos**, a town in Mysia, Asia Minor, on the Hellespont.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS BRUTUS

Page 83, line 1. **Junius Brutus.** See note, page 259.

l. 20. **given**, inclined.

l. 22. **Servilius Hala**, Servilius Ahala, master of the horse to the dictator Cincinnatus. Ahala killed Spurius Melius for aspiring to be king, 439 B.C.

Page 84, line 13. **Posidonius**, a noted Greek stoic philosopher, a teacher at Rhodes.

l. 21. **Marcus Cato.** See note, page 250.

l. 28. **Plato**, a famous Greek philosopher, disciple of Socrates. He founded the Academic School of Philosophy, so called from the *academia*, a public pleasure ground in Athens, where Plato taught for fifty years. The Platonic School of Philosophy is generally divided into the Old, the Middle, and the New Academy. The Middle Academy was founded by Artesilaus about 244 B.C., and the New Academy by Carneades about 160 B.C.

l. 32. **Antiochus, of the city of Ascalon**, lived in the first half of the first century B.C. He was the founder of the so-called Fifth Academy, and taught Cicero while the latter was studying at Athens in 79 B.C. Antiochus attempted to revise the doctrines of the Old Academy.

Page 85, line 6. **He**, Brutus.

l. 12. **Lacedæmonians**, the people of Lacedæmonia, a country more commonly known as Laconia, or, from its capital city, Sparta. Cf. **laconic.**

l. 13. **Pergamenians**, people of Pergamum, or Pergamus, a city of Asia Minor.

l. 17. **Samians**, people of Samos, an island in the Ægean Sea.

l. 19. **unto**. North made a mistake here. Both the Greek and the French texts show, according to Professor Skeat, that the sense is *of* or *concerning*. **Patareians**, people of Patara, a city of Lycia, Asia Minor, at the mouth of the river Xanthus. It is said to have been a seaport of Xanthus, a city eight or nine miles above.

l. 27. **Cyprus**, the large island in the Mediterranean still known by its ancient name.

l. 34. **Pamphilia**. See map of Asia Minor.

Page 87, line 10. **breviary**, compendium. **Polybius**, a celebrated Greek historian, born 204 B.C., died about 125 B.C. He wrote a history of Rome in forty books.

Page 88, line 9. **Larissa**, a town in Thessaly.

l. 23. **king of Lybia**. This is a mistake of North's. **Deiotarus**, king of Galatia, is meant. — Skeat.

Page 89, line 17. **polled**, plundered.

Page 90, line 21. **sithence**, since.

Page 91, line 1. **by**, with respect to.

l. 15. **evil away with**, ill put up with.

l. 21. **Megara**, chief town of Megaris, a state of ancient Greece.

Page 92, line 3. **wirts**, blows.

l. 8. **and**, if.

l. 30. **so**, provided that.

l. 33. **stood them upon**, behoved them.

Page 94, line 3. **discharged**, acquitted.

Page 95, line 9. **no man of his hands**, no great fighter.

l. 17. **only**, mere.

Page 96, line 5. **taking**, state.

l. 12. **gests**, doings.

l. 14. **well-seen**, well-versed.

l. 18. **by**, of.

l. 19. **occupy**, use.

Page 99, line 5. **rounded**, whispered.

l. 7. **reade**, advise.

Page 102, line 11. **honest**, honorable.

Page 103, line 6. **rakehels**, turbulent men.

l. 20. **Plancus**, Lucius Munatius Plancus, an orator of some note, a pupil of Cicero. He acted an equivocal part after the death of Cæsar, taking one side and then the other, according as it was the side in power. He followed Antony to Egypt, but embraced the party of Octavius on Antony's death.

Page 104, line 3. **stayed**, prevented.

l. 13. **hugger-mugger**, secrecy.

l. 27. **75 drachmas.** See note, page 254.

Page 105, line 26. **heart**, wish.

Page 106, line 5. **Antium**, a city thirty-two miles south of Rome.

l. 9. **carried**, persuaded.

l. 21. **lay**, lodged.

l. 31. **Byzantium**, now Constantinople.

Page 107, line 1. **it is no reason**, it is useless.

l. 7. **Octavius Cæsar.** Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, son of Caius Octavius by Attia, the daughter of Julia, sister of Julius Cæsar. He was the adopted son and chief heir of Julius Cæsar, and under the name of Augustus became, 27 B.C., the first emperor of Rome.

l. 20. **him**, Cæsar.

Page 108, line 9. **portsale**, sale of attendance and service.

l. 12. **Luke**, Lucania. See map of Italy.

l. 17. **table**, picture.

Page 109, line 14. **Peripatetic.** The name was given to Aristotle and his followers, from a Greek word meaning *given to walking about*, because they taught while walking about in the groves of the Lyceum at Athens.

l. 19. **marches**, borders.

l. 26. **advertised,** warned.

Page 110, line 13. **myriads.** See note, page 251.

l. 18. **Demetriade,** Demetrias, a city of Thessaly.

Page 111, line 23. **intreat,** treat.

Page 113, line 11. **Agrippa,** Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, a Roman commander of obscure origin, the leading statesman of the reign of Augustus.

l. 13. **voice,** rumor.

Page 114, line 1. **his,** Antonius's.

l. 13. **Cyzicum,** the peninsula projecting from Mysia, Asia Minor, into the sea of Marmora; also the Greek town on its isthmus.

Page 116, line 4. **Marinus.** Marius is meant. **Carbo,** Cneius Papirius Carbo, proconsul in Gaul, a partisan of Marius, put to death by order of Pompey.

l. 18. **instant,** imminent.

l. 19. **Pomponius Atticus,** Titus Pomponius Atticus, a Roman scholar and bookseller, intimate friend of Cicero, and chiefly known by Cicero's letters to him.

Page 117, line 2. **rap and rend,** get by any means.

l. 17. **he,** the man.

l. 19. **Lycians,** people of Lycia in Asia Minor.

l. 22. **straights,** straits, passes.

l. 34. **Xanthians,** people of Xanthus. See note, page 261.

Page 118, line 11. **cranewes,** crannies.

Page 120, line 12. **Ionia,** a country of Asia Minor.

Page 121, line 21. **Sardis,** the capital of Lydia. See map of Asia Minor.

Page 122, line 8. **bedlem,** mad.

l. 9. **offered,** attempted.

l. 11. **toy,** whim.

l. 14. **Cynic,** a sect of Greek philosophers, characterized by an ostentatious contempt of riches, art, science, and amusement.

l. 23. **suchie**, such.

l. 32. **bed**, seat.

Page 123, line 10. **leave**, cease.

. 17. **pilled nor polled**, robbed nor taxed.

.. 23. **would**, wished.

Page 124, line 27. **Epicurean**. See note, page 259.

Page 125, line 8. **conceipt**, conception.

l. 32. **Thassos**, Thasos, an island in the northern part of the Ægean Sea.

Page 127, line 2. **drachmas**. See note, page 254.

l. 13. **clean**, pure.

Page 128, line 15. **maliced**, disliked.

l. 20. **Messala**, Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus, a Roman nobleman of ancient family.

Page 129, line 27. **Ides of March**, the fifteenth of March, referring here to the day of Cæsar's death.

Page 131, line 11. **battle**, company.

l. 16. **occasion**, accident.

Page 132, line 1. **voward**, vanguard.

Page 136, line 5. **let**, hesitate.

l. 18. **bloods**, fellows.

Page 137, line 10. **burdened**, accused.

Page 142, line 23. **pioners**, pioneers.

l. 26. **sallet**, helmet.

Page 143, line 15. **proved**, tried.

Page 144, line 29. **coat-armour**, ornamented coat.

l. 33. **Valerius Maximus**, a Roman writer of patrician family, born during the reign of Augustus.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS

Page 148, line 9. **he**, Cicero.

l. 22. **two hundred and fifty talents**. See note, page 251.

Page 149, line 2. **bravery**, bragging.

l. 3. **Gabinius**, Aulus Gabinius, made governor of Syria 57 B.C.

l. 16. **Ptolemy, king of Egypt.** Ptolemy XI., father of Cleopatra and of Ptolemy XII.; succeeding to the throne in 80 B.C., he was expelled by the populace in 58, but restored by the Romans 55 B.C. He died 51 B.C.

l. 22. **made it dainty to enter**, shrank from entering.

l. 28. **Pelusium**, a city situated at the northeastern extremity of the delta of the Nile, southeast of modern Port Said.

Page 150, line 21. **Archelaus**, king of Egypt, 56 or 55 B.C. He was defeated and slain by the Romans after a reign of six months.

Page 151, line 7. **cassock**, robe.

l. 27. **five and twenty myriads.** See note, page 251.

Page 152, line 15. **augur**, an official diviner who foretold events by the singing, chattering, flight, and feeding of birds, or by signs or omens derived from celestial phenomena, certain appearances of quadrupeds, or unusual occurrences.

l. 20. **billed**, enrolled.

Page 153, line 31. **colour**, pretext.

Page 155, line 5. **compass**, circuit.

Page 156, line 23. **preferred**, proposed.

l. 27. **gaped**, watched.

Page 158, line 4. **eftsoons**, soon after.

l. 5. **hals**, pavilions.

l. 10. **gillots**, dancing women.

l. 25. **made it very strange**, took offence.

Page 159, line 7. **condition**, temper.

l. 18. **for**, to prevent.

l. 22. **ramped**, jumped.

Page 160, line 16. **meaning by**, referring.

Page 161, line 3. **his**, Cæsar's.

l. 26. **consort**, conspiracy.

Page 163, line 34. **Charon.** See classic myths.

Page 164, line 23. **in hand**, urgent.

Page 165, line 24. **Hircius**, Aulus Hirtius, consul with Caius Vibrius Pansa, 43 B.C. Hirtius is reported to be the author of the eighth book of Cæsar's *Gallic War.*

Page 166, line 23. **venter**, venture.

l. 28. **hard**, close.

Page 167, line 29. **travell**, travail.

l. 33. **Cæsar**, Octavius Cæsar.

Page 169, line 32. **policy**, cheating.

Page 171, line 19. **tallages**, imposts.

Page 172, line 11. **cithern**, a kind of guitar.

l. 19. **Sophocles**, one of the three great tragic poets of Greece. Born 495 or 496, and died 406 B.C.

l. 28. **psalterions**, psalteries, stringed instruments of unknown form. **Howboyes**, hautboys, a wind instrument now called oboe.

Page 173, line 2. **Magnesia**, a city in Ionia, Asia Minor, fourteen miles southeast of Ephesus.

Page 174, line 3. **abused**, deceived.

l. 7. **frantic**, foolish. **Bourding**, joking.

l. 28. **considered**, observed.

Page 175, line 10. **furnished**, arrayed.

l. 22. **Cydnus**, a river of Cilicia, Asia Minor.

Page 176, line 3. **pestered**, crowded.

l. 29. **slents**, sly hits.

Page 177, line 10. **Troglodytes**, cave-dwellers, a name given in antiquity to several races of men, but particularly to certain inhabitants of the shores of the Red Sea.

l. 25. **Antiphon**, an Athenian orator and politician, the eldest of "the ten Attic orators." He was born 480 and died 411 B.C.

Page 178, line 31. **gravelled**, posed. **Amated**, disconcerted.

Page 179, line 11. **make it nice**, seem reluctant.

Page 180, line 26. **Pharus**, Pharos. See note, page 257.

l. 27. **Canobus.** Canopus, seaport of ancient Egypt.

Page 181, line 19. **Sicyon**, a city of Greece, about ten miles from Corinth.

Page 182, line 27. **Sextus Pompeius**, second son of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, Pompey the Great. **Sicilia**, Sicily.

Page 183, line 3. **Misena**, a promontory forming the upper extremity of the Bay of Naples.

l. 10. **certain**, a certain quantity.

l. 34. **Ventidius**, the first Roman to be honored with a triumph over the Parthians. He was originally engaged in the hiring out of mules at Rome.

Page 184, line 31. **recommended**, committed.

Page 185, line 5. **Orodes**, king of Parthia.

l. 11. **tipstaves**, maces.

l. 13. **stickler**, umpire.

l. 17. **Clepsydra**, a fountain on the north side of the Acropolis in Athens.

l. 21. **Cyrrestica**, a country of Syria.

l. 34. **Commagena**, a district of Syria.

Page 186, line 31. **Iberians**, the natives of Iberia, a region bounded by the Caucasus Mountains on the north, Albania on the east, Armenia on the south, and Colchis on the west.

Page 187, line 13. **Mæcenas**, Caius Cilnius Mæcenas, a Roman statesman and patron of literature. He was the friend of Horace and Virgil, as well as the friend and adviser of Octavius.

Page 189, line 5. **to**, for.

l. 24. **Themistocles**, the Greek statesman and commander, who, exiled by his own people, lived among the Persians, being pensioned by the Persian emperor, Artaxerxes. Died about 460 B.C.

Page 194, line 30. **break**, trouble.

Page 196, line 14. **for**, from.

l. 24. **plummets**, bullets.

Page 197, line 17. **will**, desire.

Page 198, line 1. **beastliness**, stupidity.

Page 199, line 8. **kept**, stayed in.

l. 27. **other**, others.

Page 200, line 17. **naked**, unarmed.

l. 24. **degrees**, steps.

l. 27. **countenance**, appearance.

Page 201, line 1. **lets**, delays.

l. 12. **of**, upon.

l. 23. **choler**, bile.

l. 30. **Xenophon**, a celebrated Greek historian and essayist, born at Athens about 430 B.C., died after 357 B.C. He joined the expedition of Cyrus, the Younger, 401 B.C., and after the battle of Cunaxa and the murder of the Greek generals, became the chief leader of the ten thousand Greeks in their march to the Black Sea. He told the story of this retreat in the *Anabasis*.

Page 202, line 5. **wellfavouredly**, considerably.

Page 203, line 2. **champion**, flat and open.

l. 23. **Murrians**, morions, headpieces.

l. 29. **done**, exhausted.

Page 205, line 33. **legioners**, men of the legion.

Page 206, line 2. **handy strokes**, close quarters.

Page 207, line 20. **egg**, urge.

l. 22. **countenance**, favor.

Page 208, line 2. **snew**, snowed.

l. 6. **Sidon**, a city of Phœnicia. See ancient map of the Mediterranean countries.

l. 9. **straight**, strait.

Page 209, line 12. **willing**, desiring.

Page 210, line 24. **referred**, put off.

Page 211, line 22. **troth**, truth.

Page 212, line 7. **cop-tank**, comical.

l. 19. **Isis**, the chief female deity in Egyptian mythology, the

sister, wife, and female counterpart of Osiris, and the mother of Horus. She is distinguished by the solar disk and cow's horns on her head. The Greeks identified her with Aphrodite.

l. 30. **triumvirate**, triumvir.

Page 213, line 22. **understand**, observe. **success**, result.

l. 28. **charge**, expense.

Page 214, line 8. **Mæotides**, Mæotis, the ancient name of the Sea of Azoff.

l. 25. **Priene**, an Ionian city of Caria, Asia Minor.

Page 215, line 13. **astonied**, astonished.

l. 21. **seissed**, assessed.

Page 216, line 29. **tables**, tablets.

Page 217, line 16. **expecting**, awaiting.

Page 219, line 4. **Eumenes**, king of Pergamus, son and successor to Attalus. **Attalus**, king of Pergamus, 241–197 B.C. He set up votive groups on the Acropolis in honor of his victory over the Gauls.

Page 220, line 11. **prest**, impress.

l. 15. **scant**, scarcely.

l. 18. **bravery**, show. **yarage**, management.

l. 34. **Actium**, a promontory on the northwestern coast of Acarnania, Greece.

Page 222, line 33. **discovered**, appeared.

Page 223, line 19. **clap**, put.

Page 224, line 7. **streight**, strait, channel.

Page 225, line 20. **loof**, luff.

Page 227, line 2. **Tænarus**, Tænarum, now Capo Matapan.

l. 11. **carects**, ships of burden.

l. 30. **within night**, after night.

Page 228, line 21. **Chæronea**, a town in western Bœotia, Greece, the birthplace of Plutarch.

Page 229, line 20. **streight**, isthmus.

l. 33. **keep**, guard.

Page 230, line 12. **Aristophanes**, the greatest of the Greek comic poets. He died not later than 380 B.C.

l. 16. **Alcibiades.** See Greek history for the years 421 to 404 B.C.

Page 231, line 20. **gate**, journey.

l. 26. **Herodes**, Herod, king of Judæa, 40–4 B.C. **Jurie**, Jewry, Judæa.

Page 232, line 11. **gard**, edging.

l. 25. **careful**, busy.

l. 33. **prove**, test.

Page 233, line 3. **aspick**, asp.

Page 235, line 34. **set up his rest**, to make a stand.

Page 238, line 12. **trussed**, wound.

l. 14. **trised**, drew.

l. 28. **bewrayed**, disfigured.

Page 240, line 26. **appeach**, impeach.

Page 241, line 16. **very**, true.

l. 19. **sophisters**, sophists.

Page 242, line 30. **martyred**, injured.

Page 244, line 5. **set in**, mentioned.

l. 13. **caitiff**, wretched.

Page 247, line 14. **pretty**, minute.

Page 248, line 25. **Clodius**, Claudius.

l. 27. **Caius**, Caligula.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR

1. In what respects does the impression Plutarch gives of Cæsar differ from Shakespeare's Cæsar? Can you think of any reasons for the difference?

2. What trait of Plutarch's Cæsar is made prominent in the play?

3. Note what parts of the life are chosen by Shakespeare for his play, and try to find reasons both for the selection and rearrangement of such parts.

4. Do you find any portions of Plutarch of such dramatic value that they might have been used in the play? What do you think are the reasons for Shakespeare's rejection of these portions?

5. How might Shakespeare have chosen his material had Julius Cæsar been the hero of the play?

THE LIFE OF MARCUS BRUTUS

1. Does Shakespeare follow Plutarch more or less closely in the characterization of Brutus than in that of Cæsar?

2. Which characterizes Portia more fully, Plutarch or Shakespeare?

3. How does the play differ from the life in the matter of Brutus' induction to the plot? Why?

4. Compare the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius, as related by Plutarch, with Shakespeare's presentation of the same incident. What changes did Shakespeare make? Try to think why.

5. Compare Brutus' views on suicide as given in Plutarch with the views attributed to him by Shakespeare. Can you think of any reasons for the change made by the dramatist?

6. Study in the same way the death scenes of Brutus and Cassius in the play and in the life.

7. Can you find material in the life for an added or substituted scene of the play?

THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS

1. What portion of the incidents related in this life were used by Shakespeare in *Julius Cæsar*? What in *Antony and Cleopatra*?

2. Does the characterization of Antony in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar* depend solely upon that portion of the life which belongs chronologically in the play?

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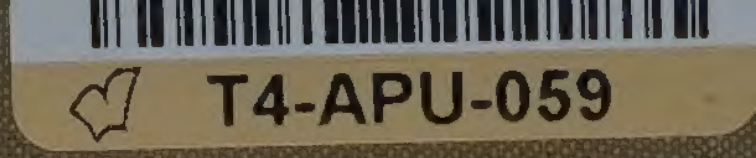
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